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THE NATURAL, STATISTICAL, AND CIVIL HISTORY OF THE STATE OF NEW-YORK,

v.3

IN THREE VOLUMES.

BY JAMES MACAULEY.

VOLUME III.

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Southern District of New-York, ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the 16th day of March, A. D. 1829, in the fifty-third year of the Independence of the United States of America, James Macauley, of the said District, has deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Author, in the words following, to wit:

"The Natural, Statistical and Civil History of the State of New-York. In Three Volumes. By James Macauley."

In conformity to the Act of Congress of the United States, entitled "An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned." And also to an Act, entitled "an Act, supplementary to an Act, entitled an Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and etching, historical and other prints."

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FRED. J. BETTS,
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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

STATE OF NEW-YORK.

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In November, 1750, the legislature provided for the support of the garrison at Oswego. The acts in relation to this post were continued from year to year. Hitherto the Indian trade at this place had been very profitable, to such as were concerned in it. An act to prolong the currency of the provincial bills of credit heretofore emitted, and for a further emission, was also passed.

In the mean time, the English and French colonies were approximating; forts and trading houses were constructed on the Indian lands in advance of the settlements. Differences arose between the traders of the respective nations. The commanders of the posts fomented them. Acts of hostility were committed. Each charged the other as being the aggressor.—The governors took part, and it soon became evident that war would follow. The whole power of France was united under one governor, who could give it such direction as he chose.

The aborigines, with the exception of the Agoneaseah, were mostly in the French interest. The British colonies, on the other hand, were divided into a number of separate governments, jealous of one another, and did not act in concert, if we except those of New England.

The governors of Canada were military men, possessed of great talents. They judiciously selected and fortified such places as would give their nation most influence with the Indians, and enable them to repel and make attacks. New-York, from its situation, was more exposed to the inroads of the enemy than any other colony.

The French had the command of Lakes Champlain, Ontario and Erie. They had a military chain of posts from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to Detroit. Their intention was to connect these with those which they had on the Mississippi.

The execution of this plan was probably accelerated by the grant of a large tract of land situated on the Ohio river, by the British government, to several individuals of wealth and influence, residing in England and Virginia. These associated

and formed a company, and adopted measures to take possession. They erected several trading houses, and caused the lands to be surveyed.

The government of Canada having obtained early intelligence of these proceedings, and considering them intrusions upon France, wrote immediately to the governors of New-York and Pennsylvania, informing them that the traders had encroached upon the French territories, and warning them that if they did not desist, he should be under the necessity of seizing them wherever they should be found.

The menace of the governor of Canada being disregarded, he put it into execution, by seizing the British traders among the Miamies, and sending them as prisoners to Presqeile, (Erie) on Lake Erie, where a small fort was then erecting. The French opened a communication from Presqeile, (Erie) down French creek and Alleghany river, to the Ohio. Detachments of troops were stationed at proper distances from each other, and secured by works which would cover them in case of attacks.

Dinwiddie, the lieutenant governor of Virginia, in the year 1753, considering these measures tantamount to an invasion, dispatched Major Washington, (who afterwards conducted his country to independence and glory,) with a letter to the commandant of the French forces on the Ohio, requiring him to withdraw from the dominions of his Britannic Majesty. This letter was delivered at a fort on Fort La Beuf, the western branch of French creek, to M. De St. Pierre, the commander on the Ohio, who replied that he had taken possession of the country by the directions of his general then in Canada, to whom he would transmit the letter.

Preparations were immediately made in Virginia, to assert the rights of the crown, and a regiment was raised for the prosecution of the frontiers. By the death of the colonel, the command devolved on Major Washington, who attempted to pre-occupy the post at the coalescence of the Alleghany and Monongahelia rivers; but on his march thither, he was met by a body of French and Indians, at a place called the Little Meadows, and defeated

and obliged to surrender after a gallant defence. The French, a short time before, had surprised Log Town, which the Virginians had built upon the Ohio below Pittsburgh, and made themselves masters of the block-house. At the same time, M. De Contrecœur, with a thousand men and eighteen pieces of cannon, arrived at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahelia rivers, in three hundred canoes, from Venango, and reduced a fort which the Virginians had erected there.

These operations were followed by divers skirmishes between the people of both nations, which were fought with various success. At length the governors of the English colonies received orders from England, to form a confederacy for their mutual defence.

The assembly of the province of New-York, in June, voted that one thousand one hundred and twenty pounds should be raised by lottery, in order to aid in the founding of Columbia College. At the same session, they directed that five hundred pounds should annually be paid out of the excise revenue, to the trustees of said institution, for the space of seven years, in furtherance of the same design. Commissioners were appointed to examine in relation to the encroachments made upon the eastern borders of the province, by the colonies of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

Mr. Clinton was superseded in the government of the province by Mr. Osborn, on the tenth of October, 1753, but as the latter did not arrive till some time after, Mr. James Delancey acted as lieutenant governor. The assembly convened soon after the accession of Mr. Delancey. They voted at this session, that one thousand one hundred and twenty-five pounds should be raised for Columbia College, by lottery. An act was made at the same session, which authorized the inhabitants of Rochester and Marbletown, in the county of Ulster, to have two constables in each town instead of one. The people, in these times, could dispense with a third or fourth part of the constables that we now have. There were then fewer justices, in proportion to the population, than there are now. Litigation has, in general, increased with the increase of justices, and will

continue to increase so long as the office is sought, rather on account of its emoluments than its honour. Some neighbourhoods, where there were not five law suits in a-year, before they had justices, have not unfrequently, as many hundreds.

The lieutenant governor, Mr. Delancey, was directed to confer with the Agoneasean chiefs, with a view to detach them from the French interest. A congress was accordingly appointed at Albany, to which place Mr. Delancey repaired, accompained by commissioners from the other colonies, but a small number of delegates attended on the part of the Agoneaseah, and even these seemed to be quite indifferent to the advances and exhortations that were made to them. The French, by their superior address, had, in a measure, detached them from our interest. The Agoneaseah, however, accepted the presents given to them, and renewed the ancient compact, intimating, at the same time, that they should demand assistance to drive the French out of the country.

Both nations, by this time, perceived that a rupture would be inevitable, and each resolved to make suitable preparations. France continued to send reinforcements to Quebec, for the prosecution of her projects. The governors of the provinces were exhorted to unite in their endeavours for repelling the incursions of the enemy, but such an union was not easily effected. The different colonies were divided by different views and interests. Besides, every colony was more or less distracted by factions, formed by the governors, and the demagogues of the assembly.

In August, the legislature of the province of New-York, voted five thousand pounds towards aiding the colonies of Pennsylvania and Virginia, in an expedition against the French, in the country of Ohio.

A law was passed to prevent malicious informations in the Supreme Court. Before this, it had been customary to begin, and carry on prosecutions for trespasses, batteries, and other misdemeanors in this court, by way of information. The act made the informer liable for costs wherever he did not sustain his complaint, unless the judge certified that he had probable

cause. This was a very necessary restricting law, in as much as it checked the propensities of men disposed to vex their neighbours with groundless complaints.

Ample provision was made for the support of the garrison of Oswego. The militia act was also prolonged. At the same session, measures were adopted to adjust a controversy which had been pending for some time, between New-York and New-Jersey, in relation to the partition line.

In the beginning of the year 1755, the assembly of Massachusetts passed an act prohibiting all correspondence with the French at Louisburgh; and early in the spring they raised a body of troops, which was transported to Nova Scotia, to aid Lieutenant Governor Lawrence, in driving the French from some places which they had made themselves masters of in that province. These troops were placed under the command of Colonel Mockton, who proceeded to the river Massaguash, where he found the passage opposed by a party of French and Indians, part of whom were posted in a block-house. The Massachusetts troops attacked with such spirit that the enemy were obliged to fly with precipitation, and leave them in possession of the block-house and all their works. From thence, Colonel Mockton advanced to the French fort, Beau Sejour, which he invested and took by the middle of June. Mockton then proceeded to the other fort, on the river Gaspereau, which the enemy abandoned. By these successes the English became masters of all Nova Scotia.

In the month of February, 1755, the legislature of New-York, voted forty-five thousand pounds for the purpose of putting the province into a proper posture of defence, and also for furthering his Majesty's design against the French in Canada. As the sum voted was wanted, immediately bills of credit were issued, and made redeemable as soon as the money should be collected by taxation.

A law, regulating the militia, was enacted. By it, every male, between sixteen and sixty, was required to enrol himself. In cases of imminent danger, slaves had to do military duty. The act declares, that if any one or more slave or slaves,

above the age of fourteen, shall in time of alarm or invasion, be found a mile or more from the habitation or plantation of his or their owner or owners, without a certificate from the owner or owners, signifying the business he or they may be sent on, it shall be adjudged felony, without benefit of clergy: and further, that it should be lawful for the person or persons finding such slave or slaves, to shoot or destroy him or them without being impeached or prosecuted for the same. The philanthropist must feel indignant at such inhuman legislation law. The same act provided, that centinels should be posted in different parts of the province to sound alarms, in cases of invasions.

The house passed a law, on the third day of March, to enable the inhabitants of Schenectady, to fortify it with stockadoes. This town had been fortified on several occasions, in the same manner. Stockade fortifications were then, and had been from the very origin of the colony, common, and were in general, sufficient defences against the undisciplined and illy armed natives. Stockade fortifications, consisted of posts, set in the ground, side by side, with their tops sharpened. In some instances, ditches were formed around the outsides. Within these stockades, there was one or more block-houses, and now and then a fort. In the settlements, along the Mohawk river, and Schoharie creek, and along the Hudson, at Saratoga, and on Hoosack river, and in the counties of Ulster and Orange, there was usually but one block-house, and this was near the middle of the enclosure. The ground enclosed, varied from one, to two or three acres. Albany and Schenectady were exceptions. The enclosures were extended, as these places increased in population. A few of the block-houses, erected in the Mohawk country, during the revolution, still exist, but they are now in very ruinous conditions.

When these works were directed to be made, Schenectady was an inconsiderable town, standing in the midst of a vast forest, the narrow settlement, along the Mohawk river, scarcely forming an exception. There were no improvements beyond the ravine or valley, except Stone Arabia, and now and then a

settlement, containing two or three families. The fine country, without the ravine, was still covered with woods.

In May, the legislature ordered a levy of eight hundred men to co-operate with the troops from the other provinces, and from England, in the reduction of Canada. Ten thousand pounds were voted towards defraying the expense. A law was made to impress ship carpenters, joiners, and all other artificers and labourers, to aid in building boats. The same law authorized the taking of horses, wagons, boats, &c. into the public service.

A very active campaign had been meditated in America. One of the first measures adopted by General Braddock, after his arrival, was a convention of the several governors for the purpose of settling the military plan of operations. This was held in Virginia, on the 14th of April, 1755, where three expeditions were resolved on.

The first was against fort Du Quesne.* This was undertaken by Braddock, in person and the British troops, with such aids as could be drawn from Virginia and Maryland.

The second was designed against Forts Frontenac† and Niagara. This was to be commanded by Governor Shirley. The American regulars, consisting of Shirley's and Peperel's regiments, constituted the principal force relied on for the reduction of these places.

The third was against Crow Point. It was to be executed by the colonial forces, raised by New-York and New England. The command was given to Major General William Johnson, then one of the council of the former province.

As soon as the several governors who met Braddock for the purpose of fixing the plan of the campaign, had separated, that general proceeded from Alexandria‡ to a post at Will's creek, since called Fort Cumberland, near the source of the Potomac, which was at that time the most western post held by the English in Virginia or Maryland, and from whence the army destin-

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* Now Pittsburgh——† Kingston in Upper Canada——‡ In the District of Columbia.

ed against Fort du Quesne, was to commence its march. So great were the difficulties of obtaining wagons and the necessary supplies for the expedition, that the troops could not be put in motion until the middle of June, and then the delays occasioned by opening a road over the mountains, were such as to produce some apprehension that time would be afforded the enemy to collect in great force at Fort du Quesne, and thereby put the success of the enterprise in some hazard. Influenced by this consideration, it was determined to select twelve hundred men from the different corps of the army, at the head of whom the general should advance in person, as speedily as possible. Their baggage was to be carried on horses, and no greater number of wagons was to be attached to them than was necessary for the transportation of the military stores. The residue of the army, under the command of Colonel Dunbar, with all the heavy baggage, was to follow in the rear by easy marches.

This disposition being made, Braddock pressed forward in the confidence that no enemy existed in the country capable of opposing him with effect.

Although divested of every necessary incumberance, his march was so much retarded by the natural impediments of the country, that he did not reach the Monongahelia until the eighth of July. The succeeding day, he counted on investing Fort du Quesne, and such a disposition of his forces was made in the morning, as he supposed best adapted to his situation.

The Provincial troops, composing a part of Braddock's army, consisted entirely of independent and ranging companies. The regiment commanded by Washington, in 1754, had been improvidently broken into companies at the close of the campaign, and he was now with the general, in the capacity of aid. Braddock was cautioned of the danger, and advised to advance the Provincials in his front, for the purpose of scouring the woods, and discovering any ambuscade which might be formed for him. But he held both his enemy and the Provincials in too much contempt to follow this salutary advice. Three hundred British regulars, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Gage,

composed his van; and he followed at some distance with the main body of the army divided into columns.

Within about seven miles of Fort du Quesne, immediatly after crossing the Monongahelia the second time, in an open wood, thick set with high grass, as he was advancing entirely unapprehensive of danger, his front was suddenly and unexpectedly attacked by an invisible enemy.

The van was thrown into some confusion, and the general having ordered up the main body, which was formed three deep, and the commanding officer of the enemy having fallen, the attack was suspended for a short time, and the assailants were supposed to be dispersed. This momentary delusion, however, was soon dissipated. The attack was renewed with increased fury; the van fell back on the main body; and the whole was thrown into utter confusion. The general, who possessed personal courage in a very eminent degree, but who was without experience in that species of warfare, and who seems not to have been endowed with that fertility of genius which adapts itself to the existing state of things, and invents expedients fitted to the emergency was, in the present crisis, extremely unfortunate in his choice of measures.

Braddock neither advanced upon the enemy nor retreated, but used the utmost of his power to rally and form his broken troops, under an incessant and destructive fire. In his abortive efforts to restore order, every officer on horseback, except Washington, was killed or wounded, and at length, the general himself, after loosing three horses, received a mortal wound, and his regulars fled in the utmost confusion. Fortunately, the enemy was arrested by the plunder found on the field of battle, and the pursuit was soon given up. The Provincials, under these trying circumstances, exhibited an unexpected degree of courage, and were among the last to leave the field.

The defeat was total, and the carnage unusually great; sixty-four, out of eighty-five officers, and about one-half of the privates were killed and wounded. The cannon, military stores, and even the private cabinet of the general, containing his instruc-

tions, fell into the hands of the enemy. The force of the French, in this action, was computed at about three hundred men.

The defeated army fled, precipitately, to the camp of Colonel Dunbar, where Braddock expired of his wounds. The terror excited by this unexpected defeat, seems to have been communicated to the residue of the army. As if the situation of their affairs had become desperate, all the stores collected for the campaign, except those necessary for immediate use, were destroyed, and not long after the death of Braddock, the British troops were marched to Philadelphia, far in the interior, where they were put into winter quarters, leaving the inhabitants to protect themselves, or fall victims to Indian warfare.

Upon the retreat of the discomfited army of Braddock, the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, were exposed to the inroads of the savages. The back settlements were generally broken up, and the inhabitants driven into the interior country.

The two northern expeditions, though not so disasterous, were neither of them successful. For that against Crown Point, which was to be carried on entirely by Provincials, was retarded by insuperable delays.

The rendezvous of the troops, for both these expeditions, was appointed to be at Albany, where most of them arrived before the end of June—but the artillery, batteaux, provisions, and other necessaries, for the attempt upon Crown Point, could not be prepared before the eighth of August, when General Johnson set out with them from Albany, for the Carrying Place, from Hudson's river, to Lake George.* There the troops had already arrived under Major General Lyman, and consisted of between five and six thousand men, besides Indians, raised by the colonies of New-York and New England. Every thing was then prepared as fast as possible for a march; and towards

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* Fort Edward was built in 1755, by the colonial forces—it was then called the Carrying Place. A road was opened from Sandy Hill, by Glen's Falls, to the head of Lake George, the same year, where the troops formed a camp, which was fortified by a rampart and ditch. Its ruins are now faintly marked out.

the end of the month, General Johnson advanced about fourteen miles forward, with his troops, and encamped at the head of Lake George. Here he resolved to await the arrival of his batteaux, and afterwards proceed to Ticonderoga, near the outlet of the lake, from whence it was about fifteen miles to Crown Point, called by the French, Fort Frederick. While he was thus encamped, some of the Indians brought him intelligence that a considerable number of the enemy were then on their march, by the way of South Bay, towards the fortified encampment, since called Fort Edward, which General Lyman had built at the Carrying Place, and in which four or five hundred Provincials had been left as a garrison. Upon this intelligence, Johnson sent two expresses to Colonel Blanchard, their commander, with orders to call in all his out parties, and to keep his whole force within the intrenchments. About twelve o'clock at night, those who had been sent out upon the second express, returned with an account of their having seen the enemy within four miles of the camp, at the Carrying Place. Early the next morning he called a council, wherein it was unadvisedly resolved, without knowing the number of the enemy, to detach one thousand men, and some of the Indians, to interrupt them in their retreat. Between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, a thousand men, with two hundred Indians, were detached under the command of Colonel Williams, but they had not been gone two hours when those in the camp began to hear a close firing, about three miles distant—as it approached nearer and nearer, they rightly supposed that the detachment was overpowered, and retreating towards the camp, which was soon confirmed by some fugitives, and presently by whole companies, who fled back in great confusion. In a very short time after, the enemy appeared, marching in regular order, up to the centre of the camp, where the consternation was so great, that if they had attacked the breast-work directly, they might probably have thrown all into confusion, and obtained an easy victory; but, fortunately for the Provincials, they halted for some time about the distance of one hundred and fifty yards, and from thence, began their attack, with platoon firing, too far off to do much hurt,

especially against troops who were defended by a strong breast-work. On the contrary, this ineffectual fire served only to raise the spirits of the latter, who having prepared their artillery during the time that the French halted, began to play it so briskly upon the enemy, that the Canadians and the Indians fled immediately into the woods on each side of the camp, and there squatted under bushes, or skulked behind logs and trees, from whence they continued firing with very little effect. Baron Dieskau, who commanded the French, being left alone with his regular troops, at the front of the camp, finding that he could not make a close attack upon the centre, with his small number of men, moved first to the left and then to the right, at both of which places, he endeavoured to force a passage, but was repulsed. Instead of retreating, as he ought, in prudence to have done, he still continued his platoon and bush firing, till four o'clock in the afternoon, during which time his regulars suffered greatly by the fire from the camp, and were at length thrown into confusion, which was no sooner perceived by the Provincials, than they, without waiting for orders, leaped over their breast-work attacked the enemy on all sides, and after killing and taking a considerable number of them, entirely dispersed the rest. The French, whose numbers, at the beginning of the engagement, consisted of about two thousand men, including Canadians and Indians, had between seven and eight hundred killed, and thirty taken prisoners ; among the latter, was Baron Dieskau himself, whom they found at a little distance, dangerously wounded, leaning on the stump of a tree, for his support. The Provincials lost about two hundred men, and these chiefly of the detachment under Colonel Williams, for they had very few either killed or wounded in the attack upon their camp, and not any of distinction, except Colonel Titcomb killed, and the general himself, and Major Nichols wounded. Among the slain, of the detachment which would probably have been entirely cut off, had not Lieutenant Cole been sent out from the camp with three hundred men, were Colonel Williams, Major Ashley, and six captains, and several subalterns, besides privates.

and the Indians reckoned that they had lost forty men, besides the brave Hendrick, the Mohawk Sachem.

When Baron Dieskau set out from Ticonderoga, his design was only to surprise and cut off the intrenched camp, now called Fort Edward. But when he was within four miles of the fort, his people were informed that there were several cannon there, and none at the camp, at the head of Lake George; upon which, they all desired to be led on to this last place, which he the more readily consented to, as he himself had been told by a prisoner, who had left this camp but a few days before, that it was quite defenceless, being without any lines, and destitute of cannon, which, in effect was true, at that time, for the cannon did not arrive, nor was the breast-work erected till about two days before the engagement. To this misinformation must be imputed this step, which otherwise would be inconsistent with the character and abilities of Baron Dieskau. A less justifiable error seems to have been committed by Johnson, in not detaching a party to pursue the enemy, when they were defeated, and fled. Perhaps he was prevented from doing so by the ill fate of the detachment he had sent out in the morning, under Colonel Williams. However that may be, his neglect, in this respect, had like to have been fatal the next day, to a detachment sent from Fort Edward, consisting of one hundred and twenty men, of the New-Hampshire regiment, under Captain McGinnis, as a re-inforcement to the army at the camp. This party fell in with between three and four hundred of Dieskau's troops, near where Colonel Williams had been defeated the day before; but McGinnis having timely notice, by his scouts, of the approach of the enemy, made such a disposition, that he not only repulsed the assailants, but defeated and entirely routed and dispersed them, with only two killed, eleven wounded, and five missing. He himself died of the wounds he received, a few days after.

It was now judged too late in the year to proceed to the attack of Crown Point. They, therefore, set out upon their return soon after this engagement, having first erected a little stockade at the head of Lake George, in which they left a

small garrison as a future prey for the enemy. This was all the glory, (if it can be so called) and all the advantage the Provincials acquired by such an expensive expedition. But so little had they been accustomed of late to hear of victory, that they rejoiced at this advantage, as if it had been an action of the greatest consequence. The general was highly applauded, and liberally rewarded.

The preparations of Governor Shirley's expedition against Fort Frontenac and Niagara, were not only deficient but shamefully slow; though it was well known that even the possibility of his success must, in a great measure, depend upon his setting out early in the year, as will appear to any person who considers the situation of the country at that time, between the settlements on the Mohawk and those forts.

General Shirley's force consisted of about two thoussnd Provincials, and about one hundred and twenty Indians. He reached Oswego, on Lake Ontario, about the eighteenth of August; but the whole of his troops and artillery did not arrive till about the last of that month; and even then, their store of provisions was not sufficient to enable them to proceed against Niagara. The general now resolved to take but six hundred men with him for the attack of Niagara, and to leave the rest of his army, consisting of fourteen hundred men, at Oswego, to defend that place, in case the French should attack it in his absence. However, he was still obliged to wait till the twenty-sixth of September, before the necessary supplies of provisions had arrived, and then the weather became so boisterous on Lake Ontario, that it was deemed unadvisable to embark, and consequently the expedition was relinquished till the next season.*

General Shirley, with the greater part of his troops, returned

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* The colonial forces made a road from the upper part of Germanflats, as it was then called, to Fort Stanwix, (Rome). It began in Schuyler, about seven miles east of Utica, and run on the north side of the Mohawk, to the latter place, and there crossed to the south side of the river. It occupied nearly the same rout which the present road does, till it came near the Cedar Swamp, south of Rome, where it turned to the right, and left the swamp to the south-west and west.

to Albany, which they reached on the twenty-fourth day of October, leaving Colonel Mercer with seven hundred men at Oswego. Thus ended this unfortunate campaign. It opened with so decided a superiority of force on the part of the English and Provincials, as to promise the most important advantages. But if we except the expulsion of the French from Nova Scotia, no single enterprise was crowned with success. Great exertions were made by the colonies of New-York and New-England, and large debts were incurred, but their efforts were productive of very little benefit. From the want of one general superintending authority in their councils, which could control the whole, every thing failed.

The system adopted by the British cabinet, for conducting the war in America, left it to the colonial governments respectively, to determine on the number of men each should bring into the field, but required them to support their own troops, and also to contribute towards the support of those sent from Great Britain and Ireland. But this system could not be enforced. The requisitions of the British minister were adopted, rejected or modified, at the discretion of the government, on which they were made; and as no rule of proportion had been adopted, each colony was much inclined to consider itself as having contributed more than its equal share towards the general object, and as having received less of the attention and protection of the mother country than it was entitled to. This temper produced a slow and reluctant compliance on the part of some, which enfeebled and disconcerted enterprises, for the execution of which the resources of all ought to have been combined.

On the return of general Shirely to Albany, after the close of the campaign, in 1755, he received there a commission from the lords justices of the kingdom, appointing him commander and chief of the forces in North America.

A meeting of all the governors was immediately called at New-York, for the purpose of holding a grand council of war, in order to concert a plan of operations for the ensuing campaign. In this council, which was attended by the governors

of Connecticut, New-York, Pennsylvania and Maryland, the ill success of the last campaign was attributed principally to the insufficiency of the forces employed. Operations, not less extensive than those which had been proposed for the preceding year, were again contemplated; and to ensure their success, measures of much greater vigour were resolved on. The reduction of Crown Point, Forts Frontenac and Niagara, with other posts on Lake Ontario and Fort du Quesne, were still the favourite objects of the council, and it was determined to make very great exertions to accomplish it. It was proposed to raise ten thousand men for the expedition against Crown Point, six thousand for that against Niagara and Frontenac, and three thousand against Fort du Quesne. In addition to these formidable forces, and to favour their operations, it was proposed that two thousand men should march up the river Kennebec, destroy the settlements on the Chaudiere, and descend to the mouth of that river, which is within a few miles of Quebec, and keep all that part of Canada in alarm.

In the mean time, it was proposed to take advantage of the season, when Lake Champlain should be frozen over, to seize Ticonderoga, the garrison of which was understood to be very feeble. This project, however, was defeated by the unusual mildness of the winter. General Shirley, who was then governor of Massachusetts, set out for Boston, in order to hasten the preparations for the next campaign.

But to return again to the affairs of the Province. The assembly, on the fifth of July, 1755, authorized the corporation of the city of Albany, together with some of the justices of the peace of the county, to repair the fortifications of the city. The city, at this time, was surrounded with pickets, and had a fort and several block-houses. The house voted eight thousand pounds towards defraying the expense of two thousand five hundred Provincials from Connecticut. As on former occasions, bills of credit were issued to meet the exigencies, and made redeemable in 1762. The colony, about this time, was greatly burthened with taxes.

Sir Charles Hardy assumed the government of the Province on the twentieth day of September, 1755.

The legislature, at their session in December, the same year, passed a law, empowering the governor, in case volunteers could not be had, to make detachments from the militia of the several counties of Orange, Ulster, Dutchess and Albany. Those from Orange and Ulster were to be employed in the capacity of rangers on the western frontiers of those counties; while those of Dutchess and Albany were to serve in garrison at Fort Edward and Fort William Henry. At the same session, the act, giving to his Majesty duties on goods, wares and merchandises, and upon slaves, was prolonged.

See Colonial Laws, Williams' History of Vermont, and Marshall's Life of Washington in respect to the principal facts contained in the preceding chapter.

CHAPTER II.

The assembly, in the early part of the year 1756, vote supplies of men and money to aid in the defence of the Province, and the reduction of Canada—General Winslow appointed to command the expedition against Crown Point—differences between General Winslow and Abercrombie, in relation to the command—arrival of the Earl Loudoun, at Albany, as commander-in-chief—the Marquis de Montcalm takes Oswego—the invasion of Canada abandoned—the small pox sweeps off many of the troops—military council composed of the colonial governors and Lord Loudoun, held at Boston, in January, 1757—his lordship makes requisitions on the colonies—great preparations are made for the ensuing campaign—Lord Loudoun sails from New-York to Halifax, leaving the Province to defend itself—defeat of Colonel Parker, near Ticonderoga—the Marquis de Montcalm takes Fort William Henry—the Earl of Loudoun puts his troops into winter quarters—his disputes with the legislature of Massachusetts.

Preparations for the campaign of 1758—troops levied in this Province and the other Provinces—the Earl of Loudoun returns to Europe—Abercrombie defeated at Ticonderoga—General Amherst takes Louisburgh—Colonel Broadstreet takes Fort Frontenac—Fort du Quesne taken by the British and colonial troops.

THE legislature, in February, 1756, empowered the colonel of the militia of the county of Albany, to send out such detachments of men, from time to time, and in rotation, as he might deem necessary. The detachments so sent out, were to be employed as scouts and rangers, in order to guard against surprises, and to convey intelligence, should the enemy attempt an invasion of the county on the side of Canada, or on the side of the Agoneaseah.

On the first day of April, the house ordered that one thousand seven hundred and fifteen men should be raised in the colony, to co-operate with the forces to be raised in the other colonies, in the reduction of Canada, or otherwise, as might best promote the public service. In order to carry the levy into effect, and to provide for the men while in service, they directed that *bills* of credit, to the amount of fifty-two thousand pounds, should be issued on the faith of the colony, and made current to the month of November, 1766. By a law, enacted at the same session, the governor was authorized to send forces to New-Jersey and Pennsylvania, to assist in carrying on offensive operations with those colonies, against the Indians, living on the frontiers of those Provinces, and in case of a defect in volunteers, the act allowed him to send detachments from the counties of Orange and Ulster, not exceeding one thousand men. The solicitude to accomplish the objects contemplated, was so great, that the people, not only of this colony, but of the others, strained every nerve to raise and equip the number of men required.

The command of the expedition against Crown Point, was given to Major General Winslow, whose reputation and influence were very considerable.

Having made in Massachusetts, so far as depended on that government, all the necessary preparations for the next campaign, Shirley set out for Albany, where he was soon superseded by Major General Abercrombie, who, in his turn, yielded the command to the Earl of Loudoun.

That nobleman had been appointed early in the year, to the command of all his Majesty's forces in North America, and very extensive powers, both civil and military, had been conferred on him. But he did not arrive at Albany before midsummer. The appointment of a general, who had a knowledge of military affairs, was very apparent at this juncture. General Shirley was a person no ways qualified to conduct the operations of an army, nor indeed, could any success in war be expected from a man who had not been bred to arms, and whose capacity was hardly sufficient for a governor in peaceable times:—

but the cabinet seem not to have made, after all, a very judicious selection.

The Provincial troops destined for the expedition against Crown Point, had before that time, been assembled at the posts held in the vicinity of Lake George ; but on being reviewed by Major General Winslow, they were found not much to exceed seven thousand men. From this number was to be deducted the garrisons which necessarily must be left in the posts to be maintained in his rear ; and he declared himself unable to proceed on the expedition. The arrival, however, of General Abercrombie, with a body of British troops, removed this difficulty, when another occurred, which for a time suspended the projected enterprise. The regulations of the crown, respecting rank, had given great disgust in America, and rendered it extremely difficult to carry on any military operation which required a junction of British and American troops. When consulted on this delicate subject, General Winslow assured General Abercrombie of his apprehensions, that if the result of the juction should be the placing the Provincials under British officers, it would produce very general discontent. In this opinion, and to avoid so unpleasant a circumstance, it was finally agreed that the British troops should succeed the Provincials in the posts at present occupied by them, so as to enable the whole colonial force to proceed under Winslow, on the proposed expedition.

On the arrival of the Earl of Loudoun, this subject was revived, and the question was, by him, very seriously propounded, whether the troops in the several colonies of New-York and New England, armed with his Majesty's arms, would, in obedience to his commands, signified to them, act in conjunction with his European troops, and under the command of his commander-in-chief. The colonial officers could only answer this very serious question, in the affirmative; but they entreated it as a favour of his lordship, as the New England and New-York troops had been raised on particular terms, and had proceeded thus far to act as originally organized, that he would

permit them, so far as might consist with his Majesty's service, to act separately. This request was acceded to, but before any thing was undertaken, in consequence of it, the attention, both of the Europeans and Provincials, was directed to their own defence.

M. de Montcalm, an able and experienced officer, who succeeded Baron Dieskau, in the command of the French forces in Canada, seemed disposed to compensate, by his superior activity, for the inferior number of his troops. While the British and Americans were adjusting their difficulties, respecting rank, and deliberating whether to attack Crown Point, Niagara or Fort du Quesne, Montcalm advanced, at the head of five thousand French, Canadians and Indians, against Oswego. In three days he brought up his artillery, and opened a battery, which played with considerable effect. Colonel Mercer, the commanding officer, was killed, and in a few hours, the place was declared by the engineers to be no longer tenable. To prevent an assault, the garrisons, consisting of the regiments of Shirley and Pepperel, amounting to one thousand and six hundred men, supplied with provisions for five months, capitulated.

The fort at Oswego had been erected in the country of the Agoneaseah, and was viewed by them not entirely without jealousy. Actuated by a wise policy, Montcalm destroyed it in their presence, declaring to them, at the same time, that the French only wished to enable them to preserve their neutrality, and, therefore, would make no other use of the rights conquest had given them, than to destroy the fortresses, which the English had erected in their country, to overawe them.

Previous to the investment of Oswego, Major General Webb had been detached with one regiment for its relief, should it be attacked by the enemy, and had proceeded as far up the Mohawk river, as Rome, then called the Carrying Place, where he received the disagreeable news, that it was taken, and the garrison made prisoners of war. Webb, apprehending himself in danger of being attacked by the enemy, began immediately to render Wood creek impassible for boats, by felling trees across the stream; while the enemy, ignorant of his numbers,

and apprehensive of a visitation from him, took the same method of preventing his approach.

The loss of Oswego was considered a national misfortune.—Besides the garrison, the fort contained one hundred and twenty-one pieces of artillery, fourteen mortars, with a great quantity of ammunition, warlike stores and provisions. Two sloops, and two hundred batteaux, likewise, fell into their hands. Such an important magazine, deposited in a place altogether indefensible, and without the reach of immediate succor, was a flagrant proof of egregious folly, temerity and misconduct.

Apparently discouraged and disconcerted at this untoward event, every plan of offensive operation was immediately relinquished, and the whole attention of Lord Loudoun was directed to his security from still further loss. General Winslow was ordered not to proceed on his intended expedition against Ticonderoga, but to fortify his camp so as to guard against any attack which might be made on it, and to endeavour to prevent the enemy from penetrating into the country, by the way of South bay or Wood creek, of Lake Champlain. Meanwhile the Forts Edward and William Henry were put in a proper posture of defence, and secured with numerous garrisons. Major General Webb, with fourteen hundred men, was posted at the great Carrying Place; while Sir William Johnson, with about one thousand militia belonging to the colony of New-York, was stationed at the Germanflats, at the union of West Canada creek with the Mohawk. The rest of the forces were put into winter quarters at Albany.

Fort Granville, on the confines of Pennsylvania, was surprised by a party of French and Indians, who made the garrison, consisting of twenty-two soldiers, prisoners.

This disposition being made for the protection of the frontiers, now invaded by the French, the colonies were strenuously urged to reinforce the army. It was represented to them that if any disaster befel Winslow, who still remained at the head of Lake George, the enemy might be enabled to overrun the country, unless opposed by a much superior force to that in the field.

During this state of apprehension and inactivity, the small pox, a more formidable enemy than Montcalm, broke out in the army, and committed great ravages. The recruits from New England, who were on their way to the camp, were so alarmed, that application was made to countermand their march. The army encamped at Lake George, was equally afflicted with this dreadful malady. It was found necessary to garrison the posts in that quarter, entirely with British troops, and discharge all the Provincials, except a regiment raised by New-York.

Thus terminated, for a second time, in defeat and disappointment, the sanguine hopes formed by the colonists, of a brilliant campaign. Large sums of money had been expended, and powerful forces levied and assembled, but after all, nothing had been done to drive the enemy even from their outpost at Ticonderoga.

The expedition to Lake Ontario had not been commenced, and, as for that against Fort du Quesne, no preparations were made. The colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia were not able to protect themselves; and their frontiers were exposed to all the horrors of Indian warfare.

The expedition up the river Kennebec, for the purpose of destroying the settlements on the Chaudiere, and alarming Quebec, was also abandoned.

About the middle of January, 1757, a military council, composed of Lord Loudoun, and the governors of the New England colonies, and of Nova Scotia, was held at Boston. His Lordship opened his propositions to this council, with a speech, in which he attributed to the colonies all the disasters of the preceding campaign. No notice, he said, of the proposed expedition against Crown Point, had been received by his Majesty's ministers, when he sailed from England, on the 17th of May, though that expedition had been resolved on by the assembly of Massachusetts, so early as the sixteenth of February. The Provincial troops were, in no respect, equal to the expectations he had been authorized to entertain of them. The stipulated number had not been brought into the field, and in quality, they were so inferior to those of former years, that he

was obliged to unite them to the regulars; a connexion in the way of which they interposed so many difficulties, that Oswego and the posts belonging to the English were taken, before the delays thus produced could be surmounted. He complained too, that the real state of the forts and garrisons had not been represented to him by his predecessors, and that his requisition on the colonies, had only produced the votes of the several assemblies which effected nothing; nor was he relieved from this situation until the arrival of the Highlanders, enabled him so to reinforce the Provincials, as probably to have saved him from being defeated and the country from being entirely overrun by the enemy. He then proposed that New England should raise four thousand men for the ensuing campaign; a contribution, of which he said they ought not to complain, when they reflected on the expense incurred by the crown in supporting such a number of troops, as were employed by it in their defence. Requisitions proportionably large, were also made on the provinces of New-York and New Jersey.

The legislature of New-York, in December 1756, passed a law for billeting and quartering the King's forces upon the inhabitants of the province. It was to continue in force to the first of January, 1758. Duties were imposed on all imports. A stamp act was introduced; and indeed every thing which would wring money from a people impoverished and borne down by two disastrous campaigns.

Notwithstanding the ill success which had thus far attended the combined armies of America and Great Britain, and notwithstanding the untrueness of his lordships assertions, that all the disasters of the preceding campaign were attributable to the Americans, and that a few Highland Scotch had saved the country from being overrun; the colonies still cherished the hope, that their future efforts, under abler counsellors and better generals than his lordship, would be attended with more success; they therefore exerted themselves, disregarding his asseverations, to bring a formidable force into the field, and the winter was spent in great preparations. The requisitions of lord Loudoun were complied with, and he found himself in

the spring at the head of a formidable army, not composed of a few Highlanders and British troops, for these would have scarcely formed the rear guard, but of Provincials. It was not now doubted, that some important enterprise would be undertaken against Canada, as soon as the armament expected from Europe should arrive.

In the beginning of July, Admiral Holbourn arrived at Halifax, with a squadron and transports under his command, and a reinforcement of five thousand men under the command of George Viscount Howe, and on the sixth of the same month the Earl of Loudoun sailed from the city of New-York with six thousand men, to join the troops lately arrived from Europe, at the place of their arrival. When the junction was effected, the whole force amounted to twelve thousand men.

But after collecting the land and naval forces at this point, intelligence was received, that a fleet had lately arrived from Brest, and that Louisburgh was garrisoned by a regular army of six thousand men exclusive of Provincials, and was also defended by seventeen line of battle ships, which were moored in the harbour. The commanders were fully apprised of the consequences of an unsuccessful attempt; and it was therefore resolved to abandon the expedition for the present.

Lord Loudoun's departure from New-York with so considerable a body of troops, afforded the Marquis de Montcalm the fairest opportunity of improving the successes of the former campaign In March he had made an attempt to carry Fort William Henry, at the head of Lake George, but, although he failed, he succeeded in destroying two sloops, almost all the batteaux, three store-houses, and every thing not covered by the guns of the fort.

Colonel Parker, with a detachment of men, in the early part of the campaign, went by water, in whale-boats, to attack the enemy's advanced guard, at Ticonderoga, and landing at night on an island, he dispatched, before dawn, three boats to the main land, which they took. Having procured information of the colonel's design, they concerted their measures accordingly, and placed three hundred men in ambush, behind the

point where Colonel Parker intended to land, and sent three batteaux to the place of rendezvous. Colonel Parker mistaking these for his own boats, eagerly put to shore, where he was surrounded by the enemy, reinforced with four hundred men, and attacked with such impetuosity that of the whole detachment, only two officers and seventy private men escaped. Flushed with this advantage, and animated with the absence of the British general-in-chief, the Marquis de Montcalm, collected an army which, with the Canadians and Indians, amounted, as is said, to nine thousand men, and proceeded directly to Fort William Henry. This fort was garrisoned with three thousand men, under the command of Colonel Monroe. The fortifications were strong, and in very good condition. On the very day he invested the place, he summoned the commander to surrender, which was refused, under a hope that succour would be sent. Upon this, the French opened a tremendous fire from their batteries, which they kept up for six days, at the end of which, the garrison capitulated on account of a want of ammunition. During this time, General Webb remained at Fort Edward, with four thousand men, and made no effectual attempt to annoy the enemy, or afford relief to the garrison.

When this important place was surrendered, the commander-in-chief had not yet returned from Halifax. The loss of Fort Edward, it was feared would quickly follow that of Fort William Henry, and the whole northern frontier be laid open to the formidable enemy, who menaced its invasion. On the first approach of the enemy towards him, General Webb had applied for additional troops, which were held in reserve for the purpose of assisting him in case of emergency, and the utmost exertions were made to furnish them from the militia. It is not improbable that these exertions were among the causes which restrained Montcalm from marching to Fort Edward. The return of the regulars to New-York, on the last of August, dispelled the fear of an invasion.

Foiled in all his endeavours to reap laurels from the common enemy, the earl of Loudoun, after placing his army in winter quarters, found himself engaged in a controversy with Massa-

chusetts, in the beginning of which, at least, he displayed a degree of vigour, which had till now, been kept in reserve for two campaigns. This controversy is thus stated by Mr. Minot.

"Upon information from the governor, that a regiment of Highlanders was expected in Boston, the general court provided barracks for one thousand men at Castle Island, not as an expense which could be of right, demanded of the inhabitants, but as an advance of money on the national account. Soon after several officers arrived from Nova Scotia, to recruit their regiments, which could not be done if they were to be lodged in the barracks at the castle. They made application to the justices of the peace, to quarter and billet them, as provided by act of Parliament; but met with a refusal on the principle, no doubt, that the act did not extend to this country. In consequence, lord Loudoun sent a letter, November 15th, 1757, insisting peremptorily on the right demanded, as the act for quartering did, in his opinion, extend to America, and every part of his Majesty's dominions, where the necessities of the people should oblige him to send those troops, either for the defence of those dominions, or the protection of his subjects. After descanting largely on the question, he concluded in the following decisive manner; that having used gentleness and patience, and confuted their arguments without effect, they having returned to their mistaken plan; their not complying, would lay him under the necessity of taking measures to prevent the whole continent from being thrown into confusion. As nothing was wanting to set things right, but the justices doing their duty (for no act of the assembly was necessary, or wanting for it) he had ordered the messenger to remain only forty-eight hours in Boston; and if on his return, he found things not settled, he would instantly order into Boston the three battalions from New-York, Long Island and Connecticut; and if more were wanting, he had two in the Jerseys, at hand, besides those in Pennsylvania. As public business obliged him to take another route, he had no more time to settle this material affair, and must take the necessary steps before his departure, in case they were not done by themselves."

The general court passed a law. This law was far short of his lordship's expectation, which he failed not to communicate by a letter, which the governor laid before the assembly. They answered it by a spirited address to his excellency, in which the spirit of their fathers seemed to revive. They again asserted, that the parts of the act of Parliament, relating to this subject, did not extend to the colonies and plantations. They asserted their natural rights; that by the royal charter, the powers and privileges of civil government were granted to them; that the enjoyment of these was their support under all burdens, and would animate them to resist an invading enemy to the last. My lord, upon receiving the address, and some assurances from the governor, lowered his peak and countermanded the march of the troops.

But to return to the affairs of the Province of New-York. The assembly, in the winter of 1757, adopted measures to complete its contingent of troops, and prepare them for active operations.

On the third of June, Sir Charles Hardy, who had been promoted to the rank of rear admiral in the British navy, resigned the office of governor to James Delancey, who had formerly filled the office of lieutenant governor.

The legislature, in their session, held in December the same year, among the acts passed, enacted one with some additions, prolonging the several militia acts. The additions merely related to the counties of Orange and Ulster, and consisted in this, that it empowered the commanding officers, in the back settlements, to call out the militia under their respective commands, in cases of invasions. These counties, at this time, were thinly peopled, and had extensive frontiers, which were not unfrequently exposed to the inroads of the Indians. The settlements, in general, were insulated, and did not extend so far back as they now do, especially those of Ulster. Woods, and mountains intervened between these settlements. We have no way of ascertaining the population, or even the militia of these counties, at this period; about seven years before, the latter amounted to three thousand men.

In Orange, the Minisink settlement was on the then frontier. It lay along Basler's-kill and Neversink river. Between it and the other settlements lay the Shawangunk mountain, over which there were then only some rude paths. Between it and Ulster, many miles of woods intervened. On the west there was a forest which stretched westwardly to Lake Erie.

The acts laying duties on imports, and continuing the stamp act, were extended. An act to keep up the currency of the bills of credit was also made.

The campaign of 1757 had terminated disastrously, leaving the affairs of Great Britain in America in a worse situation than at any former period. By the reduction and destruction of Oswego on Lake Ontario, and the capture and demolition of fort William Henry at the head of Lake George, the French had obtained the entire dominion of Lakes Ontario and George. By means of Fort du Quesne too on the Ohio, they maintained their ascendancy over the Indians and held undisturbed possession of all the country west of the Alleghany mountains, while the colonies were restricted to the country between the Atlantic ocean and the east side of those mountains. With a very inferior force, the French had been successful in every campaign and now threatened the subversion of the colonies.

A change however in the British ministry, by which Mr. Pitt was placed at the head of the cabinet, gave a new aspect to affairs in America. Mr. Pitt was very popular in the colonies. He assured them, that formidable forces should be sent over to act in concert with the colonies, both by sea and land; he recommended to them, to raise as large bodies of men within their respective governments as they could; and he informed them, that arms, ammunition, tents, provisions and boats should be provided by the crown.

The legislature of Massachusetts voted seven thousand men; Connecticut agreed to furnish five thousand; and New Hampshire three thousand; New-York contributed two thousand six hundred and eighty effective men. So high was the public spirit and so great were the exertions, that the American troops were ready to take the field very early in May. Nearly one

third of the effective men of Massachusetts are said by Mr. Minot to have been in military service, in some mode or other; and the taxes are represented to have been so heavy, that in Boston they amounted to two thirds of the income of real estate.

In the mother country too, was transfused into every department a degree of vigorous activity. Her fleets blocked up the ports of France, and prevented the supplies of men and stores destined for Canada, from going out. Admiral Boscawen arrived early in the spring at Halifax, with a powerful fleet and twelve thousand land forces, under the command of General Amherst.

We have already noticed the contingent of New-York. The whole number of men required by the British ministry, from the colonies, was twenty thousand. Towards defraying the expenses of these, the assembly voted one hundred thousand pounds, which were to be levied by a tax. To meet this sum immediately, bills of credit to the same amount were issued, and made payable in November 1768, with interest.

This tax, when we consider the population and circumstances of the province at that time, and the difference in the value of money was enormous.

The act authorising a levy of two thousand six hundred and eighty men, gives the quotas to be furnished by each county in the province; to wit:

The city and county of New-York, . .	312 men.
The city and county of Albany, . . .	514 do.
King's county, ...	63 do.
Queen's county, ...	290 do.
Suffolk county, ...	290 do.
Richmond county, ...	55 do.
West Chester county, ...	394 do.
Dutchess county, ...	389 do.
Ulster county, ...	228 do.
Orange county, ...	147 do.
	2,680 men.

These were to be raised in case volunteers could not be procured. There was a clause in the act, which subjected all free negroes, mustees and mulatoes to be detached indiscriminately.

An act was passed at this session, empowering justices of the peace to try causes to the amount of ten pounds. Hence, it obtained the name of the ten pound act This superseded the five pound act, as the latter had the forty shilling act. We have noticed the mutations which were made in this court, under the colonial government. The objects of the law, according to the preamble, were to facilitate the collection of debts, prevent litigation and correct abuses. How far the second and third objects have been attained, suitors can best determine.

The Earl of Loudoun had, after two inglorious campaigns, returned to Europe, and the command of all the forces had devolved on General Abercrombie. He now saw himself at the head of the most powerful army ever seen in America. His whole numbers, comprehending troops of every description, have been computed by Mr. Belsham, at fifty thousand men, of whom about twenty-five thousand were Provincials. To have been irresistible, this force required only energy and skill in its direction. The objects of the campaign were no longer defeated by delays.

Three expeditions were proposed for this year. The first was against Louisburgh; the second was against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and the third was against Fort du Quesne. The forces, destined against Louisburgh, amounted to twelve or fourteen thousand men and were commanded by Major General Amherst. Those destined against Ticonderoga consisted of sixteen thousand men, and were under the command of Abercrombie. Those employed against Fort du Quesne comprised a force of about eight thousand men; commanded by Brigadier General Forbes.

General Amherst embarked with his troops at Halifax, May 24th, and in conjunction with Admiral Boscawen sailed from Louisbourgh, where he arrived the second of June. The garrison of this place, consisting of about three thousand men including some militia, was commanded by the Chevalier du

Drucourt. Amherst, soon after his arrival, commenced the siege, which was prosecuted with so much vigor, that the place surrendered on the twenty-seventh day of July. The reduction of Louisbourgh, Island Royal, St. John's, and their dependencies, very essentially diminished the military and naval strength of France in America, and opened the way for the reduction of Canada.

The expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point was conducted by Abercrombie in person. In the beginning of July he embarked his forces, amounting to nearly seven thousand regulars and ten thousand Provincials, on Lake George, on board of nine hundred batteaux, and one hundred and thirty-five whale boats with provisions, artillery and ammunition. Several pieces of cannon were mounted on rafts, to cover the proposed landing at the outlet of the lake. Early the next morning he reached the landing place, which was in a cove on the west side of the lake near its issue, leading to the advanced guard of the enemy, composed of one battalion, in a logged camp. He immediately debarked his forces, and after having formed them into three columns, marched to the enemy's advanced post, which was abandoned with precipitation. He continued his march with the army towards Ticonderoga, with the intention of investing it; but the rout lying through a thick wood that did not admit of any regular progression, and the guides proving extremely ignorant, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken by falling in one on another. Lord Howe being advanced at the head of the right center column, encountered a French detachment, that had likewise lost its way in the retreat from the advanced post, and a warm skirmish ensuing, the enemy were routed with considerable loss; and one hundred and forty-eight were taken prisoners. This advantage was purchased at a dear rate. Lord Howe, and one other officer, besides privates, were killed. The former is spoken of in very high terms for his bravery. Abercrombie perceiving the troops were greatly fatigued and disordered, deemed it advisable to fall back to the landing place. Then he detached Lieutenant Colonel Bradstreet, with a detachment, to take pos-

session of a saw mill in the vicinity of Ticonderoga, which the enemy had abandoned. This post being secured, Abercrombie advanced again towards Ticonderoga, where he understood from the prisoners, the enemy had assembled eight battalions, with a body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in all to six thousand men. The actual number, however, was considerably less, not exceeding four thousand men, as was afterwards ascertained. These, they said, being encamped before the fort, were employed in making a formidable intrenchment, where they intended to wait for a reinforcement of three thousand men, who had been detached under the command of M. de Levi, to make a diversion on the side of the Mohawk; but upon intelligence of Abercrombie's approach, were now recalled for the defence of Ticonderoga. This information induced Abercrombie to strike, if possible, some decisive blow before the junction could be effected. He therefore early next morning sent his engineer to reconnoitre the enemy's intrenchments; and he, upon his return, reported that the works being still unfinished, might be attempted with good prospect of success. A disposition was made accordingly for the attack, and after proper guards had been left at the saw mill and the landing place, the whole army was put in motion. The troops advanced with great alacrity towards the intrenchments, which, however, they found altogether impracticable. The breast-work was raised eight feet high, and the ground before it covered with an abbatis, or felled trees, with their boughs pointing outwards, and projecting in such a manner as to render the intrenchment almost inaccessible. Notwithstanding these discouraging difficulties, the troops marched up to the assault with an undaunted resolution, and sustained a terrible fire. They endeavoured to force their way through these embarrassments, and some of them even mounted the parapet; but the enemy were so well covered, and defended their works with so much gallantry, notwithstanding their greatly inferior numbers, that no impression could be made; the carnage became fearfully great, and the assailants began to fall into great confusion, after several attacks, which lasted several hours. Abercrombie by this time saw plainly that no hope

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of success remained; and in order to prevent a total defeat, sounded a retreat, leaving about two thousand men on the field. Every corps of the army behaved, on this unfortunate day, with remarkable intrepidity; the greatest loss sustained among the corps, was that of the regiment of Lord John Murray.

As if entirely disconcerted by this bloody repulse, Abercrombie totally relinquished, for the present campaign, his designs against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and returned to the head of Lake George. This attack upon the French lines was condemned, and his retreat as pusillanimous.

In the mean time, to wipe away the disgrace which he had sustained, Abercrombie detached Colonel Bradstreet, with a body of three thousand men, chiefly Provincials, against Cadaraqui, or Fort Frontenac, situated on the north side of the St. Lawrence, just where it issues from Lake Ontario. The garrison of this fort, consisting of only one hundred and ten men, with a few Indians, surrendered upon the first summons. The capture of this post, in a measure, destroyed the connexion between the French posts on the St. Lawrence and the upper lakes. The fortifications of Frontenac were inconsiderable. They nevertheless contained sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, and an immense quantity of merchandise and provisions, deposited for the use of the French forces, detached against General Forbes, their western garrisons, and Indian allies. The vessels, amounting to nine, also fell into the hands of Colonel Bradstreet.

In all probability, the destruction of Fort Frontenac facilitated the reduction of Fort du Quesne. General Forbes marched from Philadelphia, about the beginning of July, at the head of the main body, in order to join Colonel Bouquet at Raystown. The most unaccountable delays were experienced in making the necessary preparations to move from this place, and it was not until the month of September, that the Virginians, commanded by Colonel Washington, were ordered to join the British troops. A new road to Fort du Quesne, over the mountains by Raystown, had to be opened. About the time that the resolution of opening a new road was adopted, and

before the army was put in motion, Major Grant was detached from the advanced post at Loyal Hamman, with eight hundred men, partly British and partly Provincials, to reconnoiter the fort and the adjacent country. This officer, who seems to have had more temerity than judgment and good sense, invited an attack from the garrison, the result of which was, that upwards of three hundred of the detachment were killed and wounded, and the major himself was made a prisoner. At length the army, amounting to eight thousand men, moved from Raystown. The difficulties to be surmounted were so great that they did not reach Fort du Quesne until late in November. Deserted by the Indians, and too weak to maintain the place against so formidable an army, the brave garrison abandoned the fort the evening before the arrival of the British and American army, and descended the Ohio in boats.

The British and Americans took possession of it, and placing a garrison there, changed its name to Pittsburg. The acquisition of this post was of unspeakable benefit to Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. The expulsion of the French gave the English the entire possession of the country, and produced a complete revolution in the disposition of the Indians. Finding the current of success to be settling against their ancient friends, they manifested a disposition to reconcile themselves to the most powerful, and a treaty was held, at which peace was concluded with all the tribes between the lakes and the Ohio.

Although the events of 1758 did not, perhaps, in every quarter, equal the expectations which might reasonably have been entertained from the mighty forces brought into the field, yet the advantages gained in it, were decisive. The whole country, constituting the original cause of the war, had changed masters. The acquisition of the Island of Cape Breton opened to them the way to Quebec, up the St. Lawrence; and their success to the west, enabled them to direct all their force against Canada. Encouraged by this revolution in their affairs, and emboldened by the conquests already made, to hope for others, the colonies, on the application made to them, through their governors, by Mr. Pitt, prepared vigorously for the ensu-

ing campaign; but their resources had been so much exhausted by past exertions, that they were unable to equal the efforts of the preceding year. Instead of seven thousand men, Massachusetts now voted five thousand men, for the service of this year; and the other colonies following her example, diminished their quotas, so as to preserve in relation to that of Massachusetts, the ratio established at Albany. On a letter from General Amherst being laid before the legislature, by the governor, in the early part of 1759, complaining of this diminution of zeal in the common cause, and requiring an additional number of men for the protection of Nova Scotia, and for the purpose of reinforcing the garrison of Louisbourgh, which would be weakened by a detachment intended to be taken from it, for an expedition up the St. Lawrence, an additional body of one thousand five hundred men was voted, and means adopted to raise them. But this vote was accompanied by a message to the governor, stating the circumstances of the province, and the causes which had prevented their bringing into the field for the present campaign, a force equal to that which had been furnished the preceding year.

On the seventh of March 1759, the assembly ordered a levy of two thousand six hundred and eighty men, being the contingent of the colony of New-York, of the twenty thousand required by the ministry of Great Britain from the American colonies.

For several years the province of New-York had had to raise, equip, and support the like number of troops. To equip, subsist and pay the above troops, the assembly imposed a tax of one hundred thousand pounds, equivalent to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. As on former occasions, bills of credit were issued immediately in order to meet the exigencies, and made payable nine years hence.

In July of the same year, the legislature enacted, that bills of credit, to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, should be issued for the payment of debts already incurred by the war. The impositions on the province, in the space of five months, amounted to six hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars.

Among the laws passed at this session, there was one prohibiting the sale of lottery tickets, brought into the province.

Among the reasons for the passage of the law, was this one, that the sale of lottery tickets brought into the province, was manifestly prejudicial and pernicious to the inhabitants of the colony, in as much as it demoralized the good people. This nice logical reason would naturally lead most persons to believe that the lotteries authorized by the legislature of the province of New-York, were moral, and tended to good habits, while those authorized by other provinces had a contrary tendency.

After the repulse before Ticonderoga, and the capture of Fort Frontenac, General Abercrombie was succeeded in the command of the army in North America, by Major General Amherst, who had conducted the successful expedition against the Island of Cape Breton, and the vast and bold plan was now formed of conquering Canada in the course of the ensuing campaign.

The decided superiority of the British at sea, still prevented the arrival of such succors from France as were necessary for the security of her possessions in North America, and enabled the English, in conjunction with the colonies, to carry their plans into effect. Three expeditions were planed for the ensuing campaign. Before we go into a detail of these, it will be necessary to explain some steps that were taken previous to this campaign.

In October of the preceding year, a grand assembly was held at Easton, in Pennsylvania, about eighty or ninety miles above Philadelphia, and there a peace was established by a formal treaty entered into between Great Britain and her colonies, of the one part, and the several nations of Indians inhabiting between the Alleghany mountains and the lakes, of the other part. The Twightwees, or Miamies, settled between the river Ohio and Lake Erie, did not assist at this treaty, though some steps had been taken towards an alliance with that people. The conferences were managed by the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, accompanied by Sir William Johnson's deputy for Indian affairs, four members of the coun-

cil of Pennsylvania, six members of the assembly, two agents for the colony of New-Jersey, a great number of planters and citizens of Philadelphia, chiefly quakers. They were met by the deputies and chiefs of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugus, Senecas, Tuscaroras, Nantiocks and Conoys; the Tuteloes, Chugnues, Delawares, Unamies; the Minisinks, the Mohiccons and Wabingas, the whole number including their women and children, amounting to five hundred. Some of the Six Nations thinking themselves aggrieved by the colonists, who had imprisoned certain individuals of their nation, and had killed a few, and treated others with contempt, did not fail to express their resentment. The Delawares and Minisinks in particular, complained that encroachments had been made on their lands, and on that account, they had been provoked to hostilities; but their chief, Teedyuscung, had made overtures of peace—and in the character of ambassador from all the ten nations, had been very instrumental in forming this assembly. The deputies and chiefs of the Agoneaseah, although very well disposed, took umbrage at the lead which Teedyuscung took, because they claimed dominion over the Delawares, and, therefore, considered it as an assumption of authority for a chief of that people to take upon himself an authority, which they imagined, belonged exclusively to themselves. The deputies who attended on the part of Great Britain and the colonies, therefore, had to ascertain the limits of the lands in dispute, reconcile the Agoneaseah with the Delawares, and remove every cause of misunderstanding between the colonies and the Indians, detach them from the French interest, establish a firm peace, and induce them to exert their influence in persuading the Twightwees, or Miamies, to accede to this treaty.

The Indians, though circumscribed as to information, in consequence of their ignorance of letters and the arts, conduct themselves in matters of importance to the community, to which they belong, by the general maxims of reason and justice, and hence their treaties are generally founded upon good sense rather than any thing else. Their language consists of hyperbolical metaphors and similies, which invest it with

an air of dignity, and heighten the expression, their style being very much like that of the Asiatic nations. They manage their conferences by means of wampum, a kind of bead, formed of a hard shell, either in single strings or sewed in broad belts, of different dimensions, according to the importance of the subject. This wampum is a kind of hieroglyphic represensation. Every proposition is offered, every answer made, every promise corroborated, every declaration attested, and every treaty confirmed by producing and interchanging these belts of wampum. The conferences were continued from the eighth to the twenty-sixth of October, when every article was settled to the mutual satisfaction of all parties. The Indian deputies were gratified with presents, consisting of looking glasses, knives, tobacco boxes, sleeve buttons, thimbles, shears, guns, ivory combs, shirts, shoes, stockings, hats, caps, handkerchiefs, clothes, blankets, gartering, serges, watch coats, and a few suits of laced clothes for their chieftains. To crown their happiness, the stores of rum were opened; they drank themselves into a state of brutal intoxication, and next day returned in peace to their respective habitations. This treaty with the Indians, in a measure, paved the way for the operations which had been projected by Great Britain and the colonies, against the French settlements in Canada. Instead of employing the whole army against one object, it was proposed to divide the forces, and invade that country at three different places. One division under General Wolfe, was to ascend the St. Lawrence and reduce Quebec; another under General Amherst, the cammander-in-chief, was to proceed against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and after having taken those places, was to cross Lake Champlain and descend the Richelieu, or Sorel, to the St. Lawrence; the third, under General Prideaux, was to go against Niagara, and after its reduction embark and proceed to the outlet of Lake Ontario, descend the St. Lawrence, and join General Amherst at Montreal, or some other place in its neighbourhood, as circumstances might admit.

As the expeditions against Quebec and Niagara were supposed greatly to depend on the celerity with which the main

army should move, General Amherst, in the beginning of winter, set about those preparations, which were indispensible to the enterprise he was to undertake; and very early in the spring transferred his head quarters from the city of New-York to Albany, where his troops were assembled by the last of May.

Notwithstanding the continued exertions of the general, the summer was far advanced before he could cross Lake George, and he did not reach Ticonderoga until the 22d of July, although he experienced no opposition, of any consequence, from the enemy, because their forces were too small to defend that post, much less to attempt ulterior operations.

The forces under the immediate command of this general exceeded twelve thousand men, the greater part of which were Provincials, furnished by the colonies of New-York and New England. On the appearance of these forces before the lines at Ticonderoga, the enemy, the very next day, abandoned the fort. This step they were compelled to take, in consequence of the feebleness of the garrison, occasioned by the withdrawal of the greater part of the troops to Canada, for the purpose of repelling the invasion expected on the side of Quebec.

The plan of the campaign, on the part of the French, seems to have been to delay the invading army, as much as possible, by the appearance of defence, but not to hazard any considerable diminution of their strength, by defending places until they should be completely invested, as to render the retreat of the garrison impracticable. The hope seems to have been entertained, on their part, not without reason, that by retreating from post to post, and making a show in their enfeebled state, of intending to defend each, the advance of the Anglo American army might be retarded until the season for action on the lakes should pass away, while their force would gradually be so concentrated, as to enable them to maintain some point which would arrest the progress of the army under Amherst, down the St. Lawrence to Quebec. In pursuance of this plan, Ticonderoga was evacuated, and the garrison retired to Crown Point. General Amherst having taken possession of this post, which covered

the frontiers of New York on this side, ordered the works to be repaired, and allotted a strong garrison for its defence. This acquisition, however, was not obtained without some loss, among others Colonel Townshend was killed by a cannon shot, while reconnoitering the works.

While Amherst was employed in the repairs of Ticonderoga, he received intelligence, about the first of August, that the enemy had abandoned Crown Point. He immediately detached a body of troops to take possession of the place, and on the fourth of the same month, proceeded with the main army, and landed and encamped at the same place. Here he learned that the enemy had retired to the Isle Aux Noix, at the other end of Lake Champlain, five leagues south of St. John's; and that their force, encamped at that place, under the command of M. de Burlemaque, amounted to three thousand five hundred effective men, and that the lake was occupied by four vessels, mounted with cannon, and manned with piquets of different regiments, under the command and direction of M. le Bras, a captain of the French navy, assisted by M. de Rigal, and other sea officers. In consequence of this information, General Amherst caused several vessels of war to be constructed, under the superintendance of Captain Loring, in order that he might obtain the command of the lake. These being completed and equipped, the general embarked with the whole army in batteaux, on the eleventh of October, and proceeded down the lake some distance; but owing to the tempests which ensued, was obliged to return again to Crown Point, and give over the design of penetrating into Canada for the present. In the mean time, he put his army into winter quarters, and strengthened the works at Crown Point. He also caused a road to be opened from Ticonderoga to Massachusetts and New Hampshire, to the end that communications might be had with those provinces by more direct routs, than by the way of the Hudson and Albany. Captain Loring, however, went down the lake and fell in with the French naval force, which he defeated and destroyed, whereby the command of its waters came into the hands of the invaders.

In the beginning of July, General Prideaux, with his troops, reinforced by the Indian auxiliaries under Sir William Johnson, advanced to Niagara, without the least hindrance, the enemy here not being in sufficient force to throw any impediments in the way. About the middle of July he commenced the seige, which he carried on with great vigour, till the twentieth, when he was killed in the trenches. Sir William Johnson, who succeeded him, pressed the seige with great vigour. The enemy alarmed with the apprehension of losing a place of such importance, resolved to make a last effort for its relief. For this purpose they assembled about twelve hundred men, drawn from Venango, Presque Isle and Detroit, and these, with some Indian auxiliaries, were detached under the command of M. D'Aubry, on an attempt to reinforce the garrison. Sir William Johnson having received intelligence of their design, made a disposition to intercept them in their march. He accordingly detached a considerable body of troops for this service, who, falling in with the enemy very near the lines of the besiegers, a battle was fought, which resulted in the entire defeat of the French, with the capture of their commander and most of his officers. This battle happened the twenty-fourth of July, and was fought in sight of the French garrison at Niagara. Sir William Johnson immediately after sent Maj. Harvey to the commandant of the fort, with an order exhorting him to surrender, which being complied with, the garrison, consisting of about six hundred men, surrendered prisoners of war. This was the second victory obtained in the course of the same war, by Sir William Johnson. In both, the commanders of the enemy were taken. Very high compliments have been passed on Sir William Johnson, chiefly because he succeeded without the advantages of a military education.

In the month of June, General Wolfe sailed with eight thousand men from Louisbourg for Quebec, and soon after reached the island of Orleans, lying in the St. Lawrence, below Quebec, where he effected a landing. From this position he was enabled to take a near view of the obstacles to be surmounted.

Quebec stands on the north side of the St. Lawrence, and on

the west of the St. Charles, which latter river empties into the former, immediately below the town. Its fortifications were strong. The city then, and as at this day, consisted of an upper and a lower town: the latter is built upon the strand, which stretches along the base of the lofty rocks on which the former is situated. The rocks continue with a bold and steep front, far to the westward, parallel to, and near the river St. Lawrence. On this side, the city was deemed tolerably secure: on the other, it was protected, in some measure, by the river St. Charles, in which were some armed vessels and floating batteries. The channel of this river is rough and broken, and its borders intersected by ravines. On its left or eastern bank was encamped a French army, of five thousand men. The encampment extended from the St. Charles, eastward to the river Montmorency, and its rear was covered by a thick wood.

This army was commanded by M. de Montcalm, who, in the course of this war, had given signal proofs of activity, prudence and courage. The same general who had taken Oswego and Fort William Henry, and who had repulsed the army of Abercrombie at the lines of Ticonderoga, with terrible slaughter.

From the island of Orleans, General Wolfe detached Brigadier Monckton, with four battalions, to take possession of Point Levi, on the south shore of the St. Lawrence, opposite to Quebec. The enemy not being in force, abandoned this post which Monckton occupied. This general erected a battery here, and opened a heavy fire on the city, which destroyed many of the buildings, without, however, making any considerable impression on the fortifications.

The works for the security of the hospital and the stores, on the island of Orleans, being finished, Wolfe crossed the north channel of the St. Lawrence in boats, and after landing his forces, encamped on the side of the river Montmorency, which divided his army from that of the enemy.

Wolfe used his utmost endeavours to bring the French general to an engagement, but without effect. Aware of the importance of bringing the contest to a close at this place, he resolved on passing the river, and attacking the French in their

intrenchments. In pursuance of this resolution, he ordered one division to land near the mouth of the Montmorency, and two divisions to proceed higher up, and cross that river, but these being repulsed, he was obliged to decamp, re-embark his forces, and return to the island of Orleans, after having sustained considerable losses.

A council was held, in which it was determined to direct their future efforts towards making a landing above the town. Immediately after, the camp on the island of Orleans was broken up, and the whole army having embarked on board of the fleet, proceeded up the river, where a part was landed at Point Levi, and a part higher up.

Montcalm could not view this movement without alarm. That part of Quebec which faces the country, had not been fortified with so much care as that which looks towards the water, and he was apprehensive that a landing might be effected high up the river, and the town approached on its weaker side. At the same time, he could not safely relinquish his present position, because the facility of transporting their troops, which the command of the water gave the English, would enable them to seize the ground on which he was now encamped, should his army, above the town, not prevent their landing in that quarter. Thus embarrassed, he detached M. Bougainville, with one thousand five hundred men, to watch the motions of the English up the river, and prevent their landing.

In this state of things, a bold plan was formed, well adapted to the adventurous spirit of the English general, and the desparate situation of his affairs. This was, to land the troops in the night, a small distance above the city on the northern bank of the river, and gain by the morning, the heights back of the town.

This bold resolution being taken, the admiral moved up the river, several leagues above the place where it was designed to land, and made demonstrations of an intention to debark a body of troops at different places. During the night a strong detachment was put on board the flat bottomed boats, which fell silently down with the tide, to the place fixed on for the

descent, which was made with equal secrecy and vigour, about a mile above Cape Diamond, an hour before day-break. The whole army soon followed.

The intelligence that the English were in possession of the heights of Abram was soon conveyed to M. de Montcalm. He comprehended at once the full force of the advantage which had been gained, and the necessity it imposed on him of changing his plan of operations. He perceived that a battle was no longer avoidable, and that the fate of Quebec depended on its issue. He prepared for it with promptness and courage. Leaving his strong camp at Montmorency, he crossed the river St. Charles, for the purpose of attacking the English army.

This movement was made in the view of Wolfe, who, without loss of time, formed his order of battle. His right wing was commanded by General Monckton, and his left by General Murray. The right flank was covered by the Louisbourg grenadiers, and the rear and left by the light infantry of Howe. The reserve, consisting of Webb's regiment, drawn up in eight sub-divisions, with large intervals between them.

Montcalm had formed his right and left wing, about equally, of Europeans and colonial troops. His center consisted of Europeans.

In this order he marched to the attack, advancing in his front about one thousand five hundred militia and Indians.

The movement of the French, indicating an intention to flank his left, Wolfe ordered the battalion of Amherst, with two battalions of Americans, to that part of his line, when they were formed under Townshend, presenting to the enemy a double front.

Montcalm had taken post on the left of the French army, and Wolfe on the right of the English, so that the two commanders met each other at the head of their respective troops, where the battle was most severe. The French advanced briskly to the charge, and commenced the action with great animation. The English are stated to have reserved their fire until the enemy were within forty yards of them, when they gave it with great effect. It was kept up for some time, when Wolfe, advancing at the head of Bragg's and the Louisbourg

grenadiers, with charged bayonets, received a mortal wound, of which he soon afterwards expired. The command then devolved on Monckton, who soon received a severe wound—Townshend took the command. About the same time, Montcalm fighting in the front of his battalions, received a mortal wound, and General Senezergus, the second in command, also fell. The left wing and centre of the French began to give way, and being pressed close, were driven partly into Quebec and partly over the St. Charles' river. On the left and rear of the English, the action was less severe.

Scarcely was the action over, when M. Bougainville, who had been detached as high as Cape Rouge, to prevent a landing above, and who had hastened to the assistance of Montcalm, on his first hearing that the English had gained the plains of Abram, appeared in the rear with one thousand five hundred men, but he immediately retired.

In this decisive battle, in which the numbers seem to have been nearly equal, but in which the English had the advantage of being all disciplined troops, while only about one half of the enemy were of the same description, the rest being militia and Indians.

On the part of the English, the killed and wounded were about six hundred. The loss on the part of the French was much greater.

Quebec capitulated a few days after, to General Townshend. The town, now in the possession of the English, was garrisoned by five thousand men, under the command of General Murray.

The capture of Quebec, and the defeat of the French army, seemed to place the remaining possessions of France, in North America, within the grasp of the English. Montreal, the only place of strength still held by them, was threatened by an army vastly superior to that by which it could be defended, and was absolutely incapable of being supported by reinforcements from Europe, unless Quebec should be recovered.

In the mean time, the Governor of Canada, and the general of the army, made very great exertions to retrieve their affairs, and to avert the ruin which threatened them.

The remaining military force in the country was collected about Montreal, where it was reinforced with six thousand Canadian militia, and a body of Indians. M. de Levi, on whom the command devolved after the death of Montcalm, determined to attempt the recovery of Quebec, before the opening of the St. Lawrence should put it in the power of the English to reinforce the place, and to afford it the protection of their fleet. He was rather encouraged to hope for success in this enterprise, from the circumstance of his being left in the command of the St. Lawrence, in consequence of the British ships of war having been withdrawn from that river.

His first hope had been, that it might be practicable to carry the place by a coup-de-main during the winter, but on reconnoitering the out-posts, he found them so well secured, and the governor and the garrison so much on the alert, that this project was relinquished, until the upper part of the St. Lawrence should open and afford a transportation by water for artillery, military stores, and heavy baggage.

In the month of April, these were embarked at Montreal, under the convoy of six frigates, a naval force with which the English were unable to contend, and which sailing down the river, while the army marched by land, reached Point au Tremble in ten days.

The garrison, by the severity of the weather and sickness, was reduced to about three thousand effective men.

To avoid, if possible, the hardships and dangers of a seige, in a town too extensive to be securely defended by the garrison, General Murray took the bold resolution of hazarding a battle.

Having determined on this measure, he marched out with the garrison to the heights of Abram, and with great impetuosity attacked the French near Sillery. He was received with firmness, and soon finding that he made no impression, and that dispositions were making by M. de Levi to pass his flanks, and to inclose him in such a manner as to render a retreat difficult, he was under the necessity of calling off his army and retiring into the city. In this disastrous battle, the loss of the English was nearly one thousand men.

Aware of the value of time, M. de Levi improved to the utmost the victory he had gained. His trenches were opened before the town that very evening, but such was the difficulty of bringing up his heavy artillery, that nearly a fortnight elapsed before he could mount his batteries, and bring his guns to bear on the city. By that time General Murray, who had been not less indefatigable, had completed some out-works, and mounted on his ramparts so formidable a train, that his fire was superior to that of the besiegers. The batteries had been opened but a very few days before the garrison was relieved from its perilous situation, by the arrival of a British fleet in the river.

Every hope of success being extinguished by the arrival of the fleet, M. de Levi raised the seige, and retired precipitately to Montreal.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, whose head quarters were at Montreal, called in all his detachments, and collected round him the strength of the colony, in order to resist the storm which threatened to burst upon him.

In the mean time, General Amherst took the necessary measures to secure, with the least possible loss, the utter annihilation of this remnant of French power in Canada. He determined to employ the whole Anglo American force, now under his command, in the accomplishment of this object; and measures were taken, during the winter, to bring the armies from Quebec, Lake Champlain and Lake Ontario, to act against Montreal.

The commander-in-chief having made the necessary arrangements for the expedition, proceeded in person, at the head of ten thousand men, by the river Mohawk, Oneida Lake, and the river Oswego, to Lake Ontario, where he was joined by Sir William Johnson, with about one thousand Indians. He detached Colonel Haviland with a body of troops from Crown Point, to take possession of the Isle Aux Noix, in Lake Champlain, and from thence, to penetrate, by the shortest way, to the bank of the St. Lawrence.

On the tenth day of August, Amherst embarked his army on board of boats, proceeded to the outlet of Lake Ontario,

and entering the St. Lawrence, descended it to Oswegatchie, a distance of sixty miles, where he halted, and sent out engineers to reconnoitre the coasts and islands in the vicinity of Isle Royale. The enemy had a fortress on this island, which commanded the river. He, therefore, made dispositions to invest it.

Batteries being raised on the nearest islands, the fort was cannonaded, and dispositions were made for carrying it by assault, when Pouchart, the commandant, capitulated. This fort is about three miles below Ogdensburg. The general having left a small garrison, resumed the descent of the St. Lawrence, and arrived at the Island of Montreal, on the sixth of September, where he immediately debarked his troops, and marched two leagues, and encamped on a plain before Montreal.

General Murray, who had been directed to advance by water to the same point, appeared below the town on the same day, and effected a landing.

Colonel Haviland. who had been detached against the Isle Aux Noix, approached from the south.

The junction of these armies presented a force before Montreal, to which no effectual resistance could be made, and the French governor, M. de Vaudreuil, offered to capitulate. In the month of September, Montreal, with all the other places possessed by the French, in Canada, were surrendered.

That colossean power, which France had been so long, and with such infinite labour and expense, erecting in America, and which menaced, in future, the demolition of the English colonies, and which sought to restrict them to a comparatively narrow strip of country on the sea coast, and which had been the motive for one of the most extensive and desolating wars of modern times, was now completely overthrown. The causes which led to this interesting event, are to be found in the superior wealth and population of the English colonies, over the French colonies, and in the superior naval strength which Great Britain possessed over France, and which enabled her to prevent, or intercept, the supplies sent out by the French government.

The greatest joy was diffused throughout the British dominions by this splendid conquest, which promised to be the greatest the nation had ever made. It was mingled with a proud sentiment of superiority, which did not estimate with exact justice, the relative means employed by the two rival powers.

But, in no part of those dominions, was the joy felt in a higher degree, or with more reason, than in America. The war between England and France had assumed, in that region, a terrific form, happily unknown to the other parts of the civilized world. Not confined, as in Europe, to men in arms—women and children had become its common victims. It had been carried by the Indians to the fire side of the peaceful peasants, where the tommahawk and scalping knife, were indiscriminately applied to every age and to every sex. These scenes, from which humanity recoils with horror, were now, it was fondly hoped, closed for ever.

The Indians, on the frontiers, no longer excited by two rival nations, living on the other side of the ocean, to make war; and depending on the English and the colonies alone for supplies, would, it was believed, leave them to pursue in perpetual peace, those profitable, domestic and agricultural avocations, to which a rich, extensive and unsettled country invited them.

The legislature of the province of New-York, in the winter of 1760, directed, that the same number of men should be employed to aid in the reduction of Canada, which had been employed in 1759. Sixty thousand pounds, payable in eight years, were voted to aid in this service.

An act was passed at the same session, to lay out a road from Sterling Iron Works, in the county of Orange, across the Highlands to Haverstraw landing, on the Hudson. The enactment of the latter act is merely noticed to show to the reader the regular advances of this State in its early stages.

At the same session a law was made, to regulate the practice of physic and surgery, in the city of New-York. We believe that this was the first law which the legislature enacted, in relation to physic and surgery. By this law no person was allowed to practice physic and surgery in the city, before an

examination; and before such examination was approved and admitted as orthodox, by one of his Majesty's council, the judges of the supreme court, the attorney-general, or the mayor of the city of New-York, who were all learned in medicine, physic, and surgery. Before the passage of this law, which calls our involuntary admiration, on account of its wisdom in certain respects, every body had a right to practice physic and surgery. The profession of a doctor must have been in low estimation at that time. Root doctors, herbaceous doctors, steam doctors, fascinating doctors, and Indian doctors, who were more skilled than all the rest, engrossed most of the practice. These could neither blister, bleed, nor set a bone; their skill and knowledge being limited to simples, compounds, steam sweating, and charms.

James Delancey, Esq. the lieutenant-governor, dying on the 30th of July, the command devolved upon Mr. Colden.

From the severe conflicts of the north, the colonies of South Carolina and Georgia had been entirely exempted. As the prospect for establishing peace in the north seemed to brighten, this state of repose, in the south, sustained a short interruption.

When driven from Fort du Quesne, the French troops retired down the Ohio into Louisiana, and employed their address in the management of the Indian tribes, not unsuccessfully, in drawing the Cherokees from their alliance with Great Britain. Their negociations with these people, were favoured by the provocations given to their warriors in Virginia, where they had been employed against the French and the Indians, in the French interest, and probably from not being indulged in a licentious predatory spirit, had supposed themselves to be treated with neglect, and even with hostility.

The ill humour excited by these concurring causes, began to show itself in 1759; and upon its first appearance, Governor Lyttleton prepared to march into the Cherokee country, at the head of a respectable military force. Alarmed at the hostile preparations which were making, thirty-two of their chiefs were dispatched to Charleston, for the purpose of deprecating the vengance with which their nation was threatened. Their pa-

cific representations did not stop the meditated expedition, but they were taken into the train of the army under the pretence of securing their safe return, where they were in reality confined as prisoners under a captain's guard—and after their arrival at the place of destination, were shut up together in a single hut. This perfidious act of the government of South Carolina was warmly resented by the Cherokees. A temporary treaty, however, was made, in which the government insisted, and did detain the chiefs as hostages, until an equal number of those who had committed murders on the frontiers, should be delivered in exchange for them; and, in the mean time, that they should seize every white or red man, coming into their country, who should endeavour to excite them to war against the colonies.

This treaty, if it can be called such, being made, the governor returned to Charleston, leaving the thirty chiefs, (ambassadors, for such we consider them,) prisoners in Fort Prince George.

Scarcely had the army retired from the frontiers, when the Cherokees began to contrive plans for the relief of their chiefs; in the execution of which, the captain of the fort was killed, and two inferior officers wounded Orders were immediately given to put the chiefs in irons, an indignity so deservedly resented, by these unfortunate men, that the first persons who attempted to execute the cruel orders, were stabbed, and one of them died. Enraged at this manful resistance, the soldiers instantly fell on the chiefs and massacred them. Thus were these men, who had come in the character of envoys of peace, detained in violation of the law of nations, and inhumanly butchered. No wonder, then, that their countrymen took up arms to revenge their murder. Inflammed to madness by this event, the whole nation flew to arms, and vented their fury on the inhabitants of the country in indiscriminate slaughter.

Mr. Bull, the governor of the colony, made every exertion to alleviate the calamities already sustained, as well as to remove them.

Colonel Montgomery, with a detachment of regular troops, arrived to their assistance, in the spring of 1760. This officer,

with his detachment, and all the force which could be collected, entered the Cherokee country, and destroyed all their lower towns. Near the town of Etchoe, the first of their middle settlements, he was met in a thick wood, by a considerable body of the Cherokees, where a severe action was fought. Both sides claimed the victory. Montgomery withdrew his army, and retired to Fort Prince George, from whence he prepared to embark for New-York.

The consternation of the province was now extreme, and the most serious apprehensions were entertained, that both the Creeks and Chactaws would be induced by the French to raise the hatchet.

The representations made to Colonel Montgomery were so pressing, that he permitted four companies of his detachment to remain to assist in covering the frontiers.

Mean time, the war continued to rage—the Cherokees encompassed Fort Loudoun, the garrison of which consisted of two hundred men, was compelled by famine to surrender, on condition of being permitted to march into the settlements. The garrison was attacked on its march, a number of them fell on the first fire, and the remainder were made prisoners. Whether the Cherokees were impelled to violate the convention, in consequence of the murder of their chiefs, or from other causes, is not known.

The war was still carried on with cruel violence on the frontiers, and General Amherst was again applied to for assistance. That general detached Colonel Grant, with a strong detachment, who arrived late in May, at Fort Prince George. Great exertions were made by the colony to raise a body of its own troops, and of friendly Indians, to co-operate with the British.

Early in June, Colonel Grant marched from Fort Prince George, for the Cherokee towns. Near the place where the action had been fought, in the preceding year, with Montgomery, the Cherokees assembled, and determined to give battle in defence of their country. The action commenced about eight in the morning, and was kept up with spirit, until eleven, when they began to give way. They were pursued, and a

scattering fire kept up for two or three hours, after which Grant marched to the town of Etchoe, which he burned. All their towns and villages, in the middle settlement, shared the same fate. Their houses and their corn-fields were totally destroyed, and the whole country laid waste. Reduced to the last extremeties, the Cherokees sued for peace, and the war was in the course of the year terminated by a treaty.

The preliminary articles of peace, signed between Great Britain and France, at Paris, in November 1762, put an entire end to the war in America.

By this treaty France ceded to Great Britain forever, all the conquests made by that power on the continent of North America. In this treaty the Mississippi was to be the boundary line between the territories of Great Britain and France, in the new world, the latter having renounced all her possessions on the east side of that river, except the island of New-Orleans. And it was agreed, that for the future, the confines between the dominions of the two crowns, in that quarter of the world, should be irrevocably fixed by a line drawn along the middle of the Mississippi, from its source, as far as the river Ibberville and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and of the Lakes Maurepas and Ponchantrain.

The legislature of New-York, in April 1761, directed a levy of one thousand seven hundred and eighty men. These were employed in garrisoning the fortresses in the province of Canada. Provision was made, at the same time, for subsisting, paying and clothing them.

[*] The legislature, in March 1762, ordered the like number of men to be levied, for the like service. The parliament of Great Britain also made some provision for the levies.

Robert Monckton, Esq. succeeded Mr. Colden in the government of the province, on the twenty-fifth of June, 1762.

In December of the same year, the assembly made provision for raising one hundred and seventy men, who were to be stationed in the frontier posts. The presidency again devolved on Mr. Colden.

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[*] See Colonial Laws, William's History of Vermont, and Marshall's Life of Washington.

CHAPTER III.

Settlement of Vermont—grants from New Hampshire—dispute between New-York and New Hampshire—submission—decision in favour of New-York—abrogation of the New Hampshire grants—controversy between New-York and the settlers—disputes between Great Britain and her American colonies—stamp act—mutiny act—proceedings of the assembly thereon—tea act, &c.—proceedings in Massachusetts—petition to the King, &c.—tumults at Boston—troops quartered in Boston—the Duke of Grafton proposes a repeal of the duties—difficulties between the people of Boston and the troops—insurrection in North Carolina—tea thrown into the sea at Boston—charter of Massachusetts subverted—arbitrary laws enacted against the people of Massachusetts—arrival of General Gage at Boston.

In 1763, a dispute arose between the provinces of New-York and New Hampshire, in relation to the tract of country, now denominated Vermont. The first settlement made in this State, was in 1724. The government of Massachusetts then built Fort Dummer, upon Connecticut river, in the southeasterly corner of the State. This fort was then supposed to be within the province of Massachusetts; afterwards it was found to be within the province of New Hampshire. A settlement was made in the vicinity of the fort.

In 1731, the French advanced up Lake Champlain, and built Fort Frederick, opposite to Crown Point. They also made a settlement around this fort. These were the first settlements in Vermont. Neither prospered or enjoyed much security till after the reduction of Canada.

The lands, however, along Connecticut river, offered so many inducements, in consequence of their extreme fertility, that many of the people of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, in

order to better their condition and increase their fortunes, resolved to settle them. It was generally imagined that they lay within the limits of the former province. The applications were made to the government of New Hampshire for the purchase. The governor encouraged these applications, and conferred many grants.

The provinces of New Hampshire and Massachusetts had a long controversy about their divisional line, which was referred to George the Second, for a final decision. On the fifth of March, 1740, his Majesty determined that the northern boundary of the province of Massachusetts be a similar curve line, pursuing the course of Merrimack river, at three miles distance on the north side thereof, beginning at the Atlantic ocean, and ending at a point due north of Patucket Falls, and a straight line drawn from thence due west, until it meets with his Majesty's other governments. This line was run in 1741, and has ever since been the boundary between New Hampshire and Massachusetts. By this decision, and the establishment of this line, the government of New Hampshire concluded that their jurisdiction extended as far west as Massachusetts had claimed, that is, within twenty miles of the Hudson. Under this conclusion, Benning Wentworth, the governor, made a grant of a township six miles square, situated twenty miles eastwardly of Hudson's river, and six miles north of the Massachusetts line. During the four or five years which followed, he made several other grants on the west side of Connecticut river,

In 1755, war commenced between Great Britain and France, which put a stop to the applications and grants. The conquest of Canada in 1760, closed the war in these parts. In the course of the war the colonial forces of New England opened a road from Charlestown, in New Hampshire, to Crown Point. This road crossed the whole country, nearly from south-east to north-west. In 1761, many adventurers and speculators turned their attention to the lands comprised within, what is now called, Vermont. The governor of New Hampshire ordered a survey to be made on both sides of Connecticut river, for sixty miles. Three tiers of townships were laid out on each side. The ap-

plication for lands increased and new surveys were made. So rapid was the progress, that during the year 1761, not less than sixty townships, of six miles square, were granted on the west side of the river. The whole number of grants in the years 1762 and 1763, amounted to one hundred and thirty; and their extent was from Connecticut river westwardly to within twenty miles of Hudson's river, so far as that extended northwardly, and after that as far west as Lake Champlain. The number of settlers was very considerable.

The government of the province of New-York, towards the close of the year 1763, on being apprised of these proceedings, took measures for the purpose of asserting its claims. These were founded upon the rights of the Dutch, the original settlers of New-York, and upon a grant made in the year 1664, by Charles the Second, and confirmed by another in 1674, to his brother the Duke of York. The latter grant contained, among other parts of America, "all the lands from the west side of Connecticut river to the east side of Delaware bay."

To check the encroachments of the government of New Hampshire, and to stop intruders, Cadwallader Colden, the lieutenant-governor of the province of New-York, issued a proclamation, on the twenty-eighth day of December, 1763, reciting the grants of the states-general, the cession to Great Britain, and the grant to the Duke of York, and its subsequent confirmation, and asserting their validity, and claiming the jurisdiction and territory eastwardly to Connecticut river, and commanding the sheriff of the county of Albany to make return of the names of all persons who, under colour of the New Hampshire grants, had taken possession of any lands on the west side of the said river. The governor of New Hampshire issued a counter proclamation, on the thirteenth of March, 1764, declaring the grant to the Duke of York, and all others, obsolete; that New Hampshire claimed as far west as Massachusetts and Connecticut; and that the grants made by New Hampshire would be confirmed, if the jurisdiction should be restricted. The inhabitants were directed to remain on their lands, and the magistrates were commanded to exercise jurisdiction as far westward as grants had been made.

Upon this collision, the government of New-York made application to the King of Great Britain, representing all the facts in relation to title and intrusions, for a determination: on the twentieth of July, 1764, his Majesty decided that the western bank of Connecticut river, from where it enters the province of Massachusetts, as far northerly as latitude forty-five, should, for the future, be the boundary line between the provinces of New-York and New Hampshire.

Thus the province of New-York became possessed of the whole territory, and might still, had her rulers been actuated by motives of conciliation and good policy. The settlers had no idea of disputing its jurisdiction or opposing its laws, but the rulers were not contented with jurisdiction; they wished to vacate the grants made by New Hampshire and deprive the settlers of their lands. In the award which his Majesty made, there was no provision in respect to the lands taken up and improved. A law was passed by the colonial legislature vacating all the New Hampshire grants. The territory of Vermont was divided into four counties; the southwestern part was annexed to the county of Albany, the northwest was formed into a county by the name of Charlotte. On the east side of the principal chain of the Greene mountains, two counties were erected, Cumberland on the south and Gloucester to the north. The settlers were required to surrender their charters, which they had received from the government of New Hampshire, and to take out new grants. Some complied, but the greater number refused. The lands of those who refused to comply were granted to pensioners and favourites of government. Possession was demanded of them, but the occupants and rightful owners would not surrender them. Actions were brought and recoveries had. The sheriff was sent to deliver possession, but the inhabitants resisted, and drove him away. The governor of the province of New-York ordered out a detachment of the militia of the county of Albany, to aid the sheriff in the execution of the law. The owners of the lands assembled and entered into associations, in order to oppose the carrying the recoveries into effect. The militia ordered out marched with reluctance, and upon the ap-

pearance of an armed opposition, abandoned the sheriff, and returned home.

The course pursued by the militia encouraged the settlers, and their opposition became more general and determined. Great outrages were committed on some of the New-York officers, and certain persons that assisted them; several on both sides were wounded. No process could be served, nor could the sentence of any court be carried into effect. The purchasers under the government of New-York, however, continued to bring suits for the lands, and to make recoveries. The most active leaders among the Vermonters were indicted at Albany. Among these was Ethan Allen, who afterwards signalized himself by the taking of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. This man was the principal and headed the settlers; of a bold and enterprising disposition, he directed all their concerns. In order to strengthen the cause in which he was engaged, he wrote and distributed pamphlets; in these he laboured, and not without success, to show that the course pursued by the government of New-York was impolitic and unjust. Meetings were every where held and resolutions adopted. The government of New-York at first stigmatized these meetings with the epithets of riots and mobs. As the controversy increased, and the opposition became more formidable, the settlers were charged with treason and rebellion.

In this state of things, an officer attempted to take Seth Warner, a leader who ranked next to Allen, but failed. A rencounter ensued—both were armed: Warner beat, wounded, and deprived the officer of his arms, and compelled him to retire. This is the Warner who afterwards distinguished himself in the revolutionary war.

The settlers, apprehensive that the government of New-York would in the end prevail, and that they would lose their lands, sent three agents to Great Britain, with instructions to lay their situation before the King, and implore his protection and decision. An inquiry was had, and the government of New-York was directed to suspend all proceedings, and enjoined not to make any more grants within the disputed district. But little attention was paid to the royal mandate.

In 1772, Mr. Tryon, the governor, attempted to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants; he invited them to lay before him their grievances, and the causes which had led to them, and gave assurances to them that both he and the council were disposed to afford them relief in case their situation required it. The settlers had a meeting, and deputed three of their body to go to New-York and confer with his excellency. These repaired thither, and waited upon the governor and council, and laid their grievances before them. The council recommended that all prosecutions in behalf of the crown be stayed until the pleasure of his Majesty should be known. They also recommended to the governor, that he should advise the proprietors of grants under New-York, to put a stop to all civil suits during the same period. But these measures, although they served for a time to allay, did not quiet the fears of the inhabitants; the governor could recommend, but could not enforce his recommendations. The whole property of the settlers was at stake.

While things remained in this state of suspense, the legislature of the province of New-York passed a law, that in case the offenders should not surrender themselves, pursuant to such orders of the governor to be made in council, within the space of seventy days after the first publication, shall, from the day to be appointed for his or their surrendery, should be deemed to be guilty of felony, and should, on conviction, suffer death, without benefit of clergy. All crimes committed on the grants, by this act, were to be tried in the county of Albany. At the same time the governor issued a proclamation, offering a reward of fifty pounds a-head for the apprehension of Allen, and Warner, and six others.

These arbitrary measures were illy calculated to ease and quiet the minds of the settlers, or to restore harmony and peace to the province. Meetings were immediately got up in the different towns on the west side of the Greene mountains, and committees were chosen. These assembled, and after forming a league, passed a resolution, "that for the future every necessary preparation be made, and that every man capable of bearing arms, should hold himself in readiness, at a moment's warn-

ing, to march and defend those who had been proscribed, in case an attempt should be made to take them; and also to oppose the execution of the law, so far as it respected the putting of the New-York speculators into possession."

Matters having come to this crisis, measures were resorted to in order to shake off the government of New-York, which, in this affair, seemed to have little else in view than the furtherance of the interests of dependants and speculators. For this purpose, Colonel Philip Skeen, the commander of one of the King's regiments, and a man of consideration, who had not as yet espoused the cause of the settlers, was dispatched to the court of Great Britain, in order to get the disaffected district set off into a province independent of New-York. He, it appears, met with encouragement. An event, in the mean time, occurred on the thirteenth day of March, 1775, which served still further to widen the breach and exasperate all parties. The court in Cumberland county was to have been holden at Westminster; on that day many of the inhabitants of that and the adjacent towns assembled in a tumultuous manner, broke into the court-house at an early hour, and took possession. The judges being refused admittance, returned to their quarters. The people kept possession the whole day. In the evening the sheriff and the officers of the court, attended with an armed force, went to the court-house, and ordered them to clear out in a peaceable manner, and yield up possession, but they refused; whereupon some of the party fired into the court-house, and killed one man and wounded some others. They thereupon left the house, and the sheriff took possession. The day after, however, they assembled in greater numbers, dispossessed the court, and seized several of the officers, whom they carried to the jail at Northampton in Massachusetts. But they were released shortly after by the chief justice, and returned home. Highly inflamed by this event, the committees of a large body of the settlers met at Westminster on the eleventh of April, 1775, and, among other measures, they came to the following resolve: "that it is the duty of the inhabitants wholly to renounce and resist the government of the province of New-York, until

such times as their lives and property may be secured, or until such time as they lay their grievances before his Majesty in council, and obtain his decision." Such was the situation of this part of the province of New-York at the time the revolution commenced.

This occasioned a temporary suspension of the controversy, and for a while moderated the passions already elicited. All seemed intent in defending the country against Great Britain. In the autumn of 1755, some of the leaders repaired to Philadelphia, where Congress was then sitting, in order to see whether that body would not admit the contested district into the union, as a component part of the Fredish confederacy; but that body, from a respect to the State of New-York, and from a consciousness, which was misplaced, that its government would be actuated by considerations of justice, as well as of generosity and policy, declined the overture, and recommended to them submission to the laws.

In treating of the controversies between New-York and Vermont, we have supposed that it would be better to give them separately, without blending them along with other matters. To this end we have divided the whole into three parts. The first embraces the time before the revolution; the second during the revolution; and the third since the revolution.

In consequence of the hostile attitude of some of the more distant tribes of Indians, the legislature of the colony of New-York, in the month of December, 1763, ordered that eight hundred men should be raised and stationed at Schoharie and Cherry Valley, for the purpose of preventing those settlements from being invaded and laid waste. Those Indian tribes, however, on being apprised of preparations being made to resist them, and carry the war into their country, in case the exigency should require it, settled down into a calm.

The house, in April following, voted, that one hundred and eighty men should be levied in addition to the foregoing. These, we believe, were never raised, on account of the pacific disposition of the Indians.

1763—At no period of time was the attachment of the colonies

to the mother country more strong than at present. The war just concluded, had deeply interested every part of the continent. Every colony had been engaged in it, and most had felt its ravages. The introduction of the Aborigines as auxiliaries, had greatly increased its horrors, and had added to the joy produced in every bosom, by its auspicious termination.

This state of things, so long and anxiously wished for by the Anglo American colonies, had at length been affected by the union of British and American valour. They had co-operated in the same service, and their blood had mingled in the same fields.

The British nation was endeared to the American people, by this community of danger and identity of interest. The Americans were proud of the land of their ancestors, and gloried in their descent from Englishmen. But this sentiment of admiration was not confined to the military character of that nation. A full share of it was bestowed on its political institutions; and while the excellence of the English constitution was a rich theme of declamation, every man believed himself entitled to a large share of its advantages, nor could he admit that by crossing the ocean, his ancestors had relinquished the rights of Englishmen.

The degree of authority which might rightfully be exercised by the mother country over her colonies, had never been accurately defined. In England, it had always been asserted that Parliament possessed the power of binding them in all cases. In America, at different times and in different colonies, various opinions had been entertained on this subject.

In New England, originally settled by republicans, and during the depression of the regal government in England, habits of independence had cherished the theory, that the colonial assemblies possessed all the powers of legislation, not surrendered by compact; that the Americans were subjects of the crown, but not of the nation; and were bound by no laws to which their representatives had not assented. From this high ground they had been compelled reluctantly to recede. The judges being appointed by the governors, with the advice of

council, had determined that the colonies were bound by acts of Parliament which concerned them, and which were expressly extended to them.

In the year 1692, immediately after the receipt of their new charter, granted by William and Mary, the assembly of Massachusetts had passed an act, denying most explicitly the right of any authority, other than that of the general court, to impose on the colony any tax whatever; and also asserting those principles of national liberty, which are founded in magna charta. Not long after, the assembly of New-York passed an act similar to that of Massachusetts, in which its own supremacy, not only in matters of taxation, but of general legislation, is expressly asserted. Both these acts, however, were disapproved in England, and the Parliament asserted its authority, by a law passed in 1696, declaring that all laws, by-laws, usages and customs which shall be in practice in any of the plantations, repugnant to any law made, or to be made in this kingdom, relative to the said plantations, shall be void and of none effect.

In the middle and southern colonies no question respecting the supremacy of Parliament, in matters of general legislation, every existed. But even these colonies, however they might acknowledge the supremacy of Parliament in other respects, denied the right of that body to tax them internally.

A scheme for taxing the colonies by authority or Parliament had been formed so early as the year 1739, and recommended to government, by a club of American merchants, at the head of whom was Sir William Keith, governor of Pennsylvania. This plan, however, was not countenanced by the then minister, and seems never to have been seriously taken up until the year 1754. Some of the colonies themselves, appear to have wished that a mode would be adopted which should combine their exertions, and equitably apportion their expenses in the common cause. The attention of the minister was then turned to a plan of taxation by authority of Parliament; and it will be recollected that a system was devised, and recommended by him as a substitute for the articles of union, digested and agreed on by the convention at Albany. Means were used to ascer-

tain the temper and opinions of the colonists on this subject. The impolicy of irritating them at a crisis which required all the exertions they were capable of making, furnished motives sufficient to induce a suspension, for the present, of a measure so delicate and so dangerous, but it seems not to have been totally abandoned. This total opposition of opinion, on a subject the most interesting to the human heart, was now about to produce a system of measures which tore asunder all the bonds of relationship and affection which had for ages subsisted.

The assembly in 1764, passed an act for the settlement of the partition line between the provinces of New-York and Massachusetts.

The system which had been laid aside, was renewed, and on the motion of Mr. Grenville, the first commissioner of the treasury, a resolution passed without much debate, importing that it would be proper to impose certain stamp duties in the colonies and plantations. This resolution was not carried into immediate effect.

At the same time other resolutions passed, laying new duties on the trade of the colonies—great disgust was occasioned by the increase of the duties by the new regulations which were made, and by the manner in which those regulations were to be executed. Completely to prevent smuggling, as it was alleged, all the officers in the sea-service, who were on the American station, were appointed revenue officers, and directed to take the custom-house oaths. Being unacquainted with the custom-house laws and usages, many vexatious seizures were made, for which no redress could be obtained but in England.

The resolution concerning the duties on stamps, excited a great ferment in America. The right of Parliament to impose taxes on the colonies became a subject of universal conversation, and was almost universally denied. Petitions to the King, and memorials to both houses of Parliament against the measure, were transmitted by several of the Provincial assemblies, to the board of trade in England, to be presented to his Majesty, and to Parliament, when that body should again be convened. The house of assembly of Massachusetts, instructed its agent to use

his utmost endeavours to obtain a repeal of the late act of Parliament respecting the duties, and to prevent the passage of the stamp act, or any other act levying taxes or impositions of any kind on the colonies. A committee was appointed to act in the recess of the general court, with instructions to correspond with the assemblies of the respective colonies, to communicate to them the instructions given to their agent, and to solicit their concurrence in similar measures. These legislative proceedings were, in many places, seconded by associations entered into by individuals, for diminishing the use of British manufactures.

The administration informed the agents of the colonies in London, that if they would propose any other mode of raising the sum required, their proposition would be accepted, and the stamp duty laid aside. The sum proposed by the stamp duty was $440,000.

The agents replied, that they were not authorised to propose a substitute, but were ordered to oppose the bill when it should be brought into the house by petition, questioning the right claimed by Parliament to tax the colonies. The controversy was now placed on ground which seemed to admit of no compromise.

1765.—The right of taxation was denied by one party and asserted by the other. Determined to persevere in the system he had adopted, and believing successful resistance absolutely impossible, Mr. Grenville brought into Parliament his celebrated act, for imposing stamp duties in America, and it passed both houses by very great majorities, but not without animated debates. General Conway stood alone in denying the right claimed by the British Parliament to give away the money of those who were not represented in that body.

The arguments of the minority, on this interesting occasion, were unusually ardent. The claim was declared by the minority to be opposite to the spirit of the English constitution, which has established, as a fundamental axiom, that taxation and representation are inseparable; and that as the colonies were not represented in Parliament, it would be the very essence of tyranny

to attempt to exercise an authority over them, which, from its nature, must inevitably lead to gross abuse.

The measure was treated not only as tyrannical, but as unnecessary also. America, it was said, had never been deficient in contributing her full proportion towards the expenses of the wars in which, conjointly with England, she had been involved; and that in the course of the last memorable contest, large sums had been repeatedly voted by the colonies, for exertions, and which, it must be conceded, were disproportionate to their means and resources.

Mr. Grenville had concluded a long argument in favour of the bill, with saying, these children of our planting, nourished by our indulgence, until they are grown to a good degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy load of national expense which we lie under? In answer to this observation, Colonel Barre exclaimed, "Children planted by your care"—No! your oppression planted them in America—they fled from your tyranny into a then uncultivated land, where they were exposed to all the hardships, to which human nature is liable! "They nourished by your indulgence?" No! they grew by your neglect. When you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over them, who were the deputies of some deputy, sent to spy out their liberty, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them—men whose behaviour, on many occasions, has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them—men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some of whom were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of justice in their own. "They protected by your arms? They have nobly taken up arms in your defence; have exerted their valour for the defence of a country, the interior of which, while its frontiers were drenched in blood, has yielded its little savings to your enlargement. Believe me, remember, I this day told you so—the same spirit which actuated that people at first, still continues with them; but prudence forbids me to explain myself further.

The passage of this act, the operation of which, was to commence on the first of November, excited throughout the colonies, serious and universal alarm. It was believed to strike at the constitution of the country, and to destroy the sacred principles of liberty. Combinations against its execution were every where formed, and the utmost exertions were used to render, as diffusive as possible, a knowledge of the pernicious consequences, which must flow from admitting that America could be taxed by a legislature in which she was not represented.

The assembly of Virginia was in session when the intelligence was received. The subject was taken up, and by a small majority, several resolutions which had been introduced by Mr. Henry, and seconded by Mr. Johnson, were agreed to, one of which asserted the exclusive right of the assembly to lay taxes and impositions on the inhabitants of that colony, and that every attempt to vest such a power elsewhere is illegal, unconstitutional and unjust, and has a manifest tendency to destroy American freedom.

On the passage of these resolutions, the governor dissolved the assembly.

The legislatures of several other colonies passed similar resolutions, and the house of representatives of Massachusetts, contemplating a still more solemn and effectual expression of the general sentiment, recommended a congress of deputies from all the colonial assemblies, to meet at the city of New-York, on the first Tuesday of October, in the same year, to consult together on the present circumstances of the colonies, and the difficulties to which they are, and must be reduced by the operation of the acts of Parliament. Circular letters, signed by the speaker, communicating this recommendation, were addressed to the several speakers of the respective assemblies, and wherever they were in session, the recommendation was acted on. New Hampshire alone declined sending members to the Congress. None attended from Virginia and North Carolina, the legislatures of those colonies not being in session.

In the mean time, the papers teemed with the most animating exhortations to the people, to unite in the defence of their

liberty and property. The stamp officers almost every where were compelled to resign.

October, 1765.—At the time appointed, the commissioners from the assemblies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina, assembled at the city of New-York; and Timothy Ruggles, Esquire, of Massachusetts, having been chosen their chairman, they proceeded on the important objects for which they had convened. The first measure of the congress was a declaration of the rights and grievances of the colonists. This paper asserts them to be entitled to all the rights and liberties of natural born subjects, within the kingdom of Great Britain; among the most essential of which, are the exclusive power to tax themselves, and the privilege of a trial by jury.

The grievance most complained of, was the act granting certain stamp duties, and other duties in the colonies, the direct tendency of which they said, by taxing the colonists without their consent, and by extending the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty, was to subvert their rights and liberties.

A petition to the King was agreed on, together with a memorial to each house of Parliament.

These papers were drawn with temper and firmness. They express the attachment of the colonies to the mother country, and assert the rights they claim.

In addition to these measures, Congress recommended to the several colonies to appoint special agents, who should unite their utmost endeavours in soliciting redress of grievances; and, having directed their clerk to make out a copy of their proceedings for each colony, they adjourned.

To interest the people of England against the measures of administration, associations were formed in every part of the continent, for the encouragement of domestic manufactures, and against the use of those imported from Great Britain.

In New-York and Connecticut, originated an association of persons, styling themselves the sons of liberty, who bound themselves, among other things, to march to any part of the conti-

ment to support the British constitution. A corresponding committee was established, who corresponded with conspicuous men throughout the colonies, and contributed materially to increase the spirit of opposition.

Sir Henry Moor, Esq. superseded Mr. Colden in the government of the province of New-York, on the twelfth of November, 1765.

Among the acts passed this year, and in the one following, the legislature passed several for improving certain roads already opened, and for laying out and opening of others. The roads that were to be laid out and opened, were in the then counties of Albany and Cumberland.

While these transactions were taking place in America, a revolution happened in the British cabinet. The Grenville administration was succeeded by one unfriendly to a further prosecution of the plan for taxing the colonies without their consent. General Conway, now one of the principal members of the cabinet, addressed a circular letter to the different governors of the colonies, recommending to them to observe a temperate and conciliatory conduct towards the colonists, and to endeavour, by persuasive means, to restore public peace.

January 14, 1766.—Parliament was opened by a speech from the King, in which, among other things, he recommended to them to restore that harmony and peace between the colonies and mother country, which had been lately interrupted.

In the course of the debate, in the house of commons, on the motion for the address, Mr. Pitt, in explicit terms, condemned the act for collecting the stamp duties in America, and declared his opinion to be, that Parliament had no right to tax the colonies. He concluded, by recommending to the house the repeal of the stamp act.

Mr. Grenville, in opposition, said, that the disturbances in America were grown to tumults and riots; he doubted not they bordered on open rebellion; and if the doctrine he had heard that day should be confirmed, he feared they would lose that name to take that of revolution. The government over them being dissolved, a revolution, he said, would take place in

America. He contended, that taxation was a part of the sovereign power—one branch of the legislation; and had been exercised over those who were not represented.

The existing administration concurred in sentiment with Mr. Pitt, and the act was repealed; but its repeal was accompanied with a declaratory act, asserting the power and right of Great Britain to bind the colonies in all cases whatever.

The joy in America, on receiving intelligence of this event, was unbounded.

Although the sentiment of joy produced by the repeal of the stamp act was common to all the colonies, the same temper did not prevail in all of them.

The first measures of Massachusetts and New-York demonstrated, that the reconciliation with the mother country was not cordial.

The letter of General Conway, secretary of state, already mentioned, inclosed a resolution, declaring that those persons who had suffered any injury or damage, in consequence of their assisting to execute the late act, should be compensated by the colonies. This gave offence, and tended to irritate.

In New-York, where General Gage was expected, with a considerable body of troops, a message was transmitted by the governor to the assembly, desiring their compliance with an act of Parliament, called the mutiny act, which required that the colony, in which any of the King's forces might be stationed, should provide for them barracks, and certain necessaries in their quarters. The assembly postponed the consideration of this message until the troops had actually arrived, and then, after a second message, reluctantly and partially complied with the requisitions of the act.

At a subsequent session, the governor brought the subject again before them, when they determined that the act of Parliament could only be construed, to require that they should provide necessaries for troops on a march, and not while permanently stationed in their country, because, on a contrary construction the colony might be grievously burdened by marching into it several regiments.

1767.—The idea of raising a revenue in America was highly favoured in England by the landed interest.

The temper now discovered in some of the colonies, was by no means calculated to assuage the wound which this measure had inflicted on the rulers of that country, and is supposed to have contributed to the revival of a system which had been reluctantly abandoned.

A bill had been decided on in the cabinet, for imposing certain duties on tea, paper, glass, and painters' colours, imported into the colonies from Great Britain. This bill was now brought into Parliament, and passed almost without opposition.

The present duties were plainly intended not to regulate commerce, but to raise a revenue, which would be as certainly collected from the colonists, as the duties on the stamps could have been. The principle was the same in the one case as in the other. The same object was in view. The Americans saw its operation and force.

With these sentiments concerning it, it was not strange that a determination was made to oppose its execution.

Jan. 7, 1768.—The general court of Massachusetts met in December, and very early in the session, took under their consideration, several acts of Parliament, which, during the recess, had been transmitted to the colony. They perceived plainly that the claim to tax America was revived; and they determined to oppose it with all the means in their power.

A very elaborate letter was addressed to Dennis de Bert, agent for the house of representatives, in which are detailed at great length, and with much weight of argument, all the objections to be made to the late acts of Parliament. Letters signed by the speaker, were also addressed to the Earl of Shelburne and General Conway, secretaries of state; the Marquis of Rockingham, Lord Cambden, the Earl of Chatham, and the lords commissioners of the treasury. These letters, while they breathe a spirit of ardent attachment to the British constitution, and the nation, manifest a perfect conviction that their complaints were just.

A petition to the King was also agreed on, replete with pro-

fessions of loyalty, but stating in very explicit terms, the sense they entertained of the acts against which they petitioned.

After the petition to the King had been voted, a day was appointed to take under consideration the propriety of addressing their sister colonies, but it was lost. The question was afterwards reconsidered and carried.

A circular letter to the assemblies of the respective colonies, stating the proceedings of the house of representatives of Massachusetts, was then agreed to.

This circular letter was well received in the other colonies. They generally approved the measures of the opposition which had been taken, and readily united in them. They too petitioned the King against the obnoxious acts of Parliament, and instructed their several agents to use all proper means to obtain their repeal.

1768—On the first intimation of the measures taken by Massachusetts, the Earl of Hillsborough, who had been appointed about the close of the year 1767, to the then newly created office of secretary of state, for the department of the colonies, addressed a circular letter to the several governors, to be laid by them, before the assemblies of their respective colonies, in which he treats the circular letter of Massachusetts, as being of the most dangerous and factious tendency, calculated to inflame the minds of his Majesty's good subjects in the colonies, to promote an unwarrantable combination, to excite and encourage an open opposition to, and denial of the authority of Parliament, and to subvert the true principles of the constitution; and he endeavoured to prevail with them, to treat, with a proper resentment, what he termed, such an unjustifiable attempt to revive those distractions which had operated so fatally to the prejudice of the colonies, and of the mother country.

Far from producing the desired effect, this letter of the Earl rather served to strengthen the determination of the colonies to unite in their endeavours for the purpose of obtaining a repeal of the laws; and they declared that they could not consider as an unwarrantable combination, a concert of measures, to give weight and efficacy to their representations, in support of prin-

ciples, they deemed essential to the preservation of the British constitution, and of British liberty.

When the general court of Massachusetts was again convened, Governor Barnard laid before the house of representatives, an extract of a letter from the Earl of Hillsborough, communicating the great concern of his Majesty, that a house, at the end of a session, should have presumed to revert to, and resolve upon a measure of so inflammatory a nature, as that of writing to the other colonies, on the subject of their intended representations against some acts of Parliament. He also, among other things, declares it to be the King's pleasure, that the governor should require of the house of representatives, in his Majesty's name, to rescind the resolution which gave birth to the circular letter from the speaker, and to declare their disapprobation of, and dissent from that rash and hasty measure.

This message produced a considerable degree of agitation; but without coming to any resolution on it, the house requested the governor to lay before them the whole of the Earl's letter, and also copies of such letters as had been written by his excellency to that nobleman, on the subject to which the message referred.

The letters written by the governor were refused, but the residue of that from the Earl was laid before them.

That minister had directed the governor, in case the house of representatives refused to retract, to dissolve them.

No immediate answer being returned to these communications, the governor pressed the house for a decision on them; adding, that he could not admit of a much longer delay, without considering it as an answer in the negative.

The next day the house requested a recess, that they might consult their constituents on the requisition made. This being refused, a letter to the Earl was reported and agreed to. In this they defend, in strong and manly terms, their circular letter, and repel the charges made by the Earl.

The question was then put, whether the house would rescind the resolution on which their circular letter was founded, and it passed in the negative, by a very large majority.

A letter to the governor was then prepared, stating their motives for refusing to comply with the requisition to rescind their resolution; immediately after receiving which they were prorogued, and the next day they were dissolved by proclamation.

While the opposition was thus conducted by the house with temperate firmness, and with the use only of legitimate means, the general irritation occasionally broke out in the town of Boston, in acts of violence.

The seizure of the sloop Liberty, belonging to Mr. Hancock, occasioned the assemblage of a tumultuous mob, who beat the revenue officers, and took possession of a boat belonging to the collector, which they burnt. The revenue officers took refuge on board of the Romney, man-of-war. After a considerable length of time, the governor moved the council to take measures for restoring vigour and firmness to government: but they refused to act.

This riot demonstrated the impracticability of executing, by ordinary means, the obnoxious laws, which government seemed determined to enforce, though it might not occasion, certainly accelerated a measure, which tended in no inconsiderable degree, to irritate still further the angry disposition, already so prevalent in Boston.

Representations had already been made by the governor to the administration, stating the necessity of stationing a military force in the province for the protection of the officers employed in collecting the revenue, and of the magistrates in preserving the public peace; and orders to detach, at least one regiment, on that service, had already been given to General Gage. The transactions respecting the seizure of the sloop Liberty, rendered any attempt to produce a countermand unavailing, and probably was the cause of two regiments being sent, instead of one.

Before the arrival of the military force, the governor had used expressions, that it might be expected; in consequence of which, a committee of the inhabitants was deputed, in a town meeting, to wait on his excellency, to know on what the suspicions he had expressed were founded, and also to pray him to convene another assembly.

The answer of the governor confirmed their fears respecting a military force. He informed them, that no other assembly could be convoked, until his Majesty's commands should be received.

The answer of the governor to their message being reported, the meeting immediately proceeded to resolve, that to levy money within that province, by any other authority than that of the general court, was a violation of the royal charter, and of the undoubted natural right of British subjects.

That the inhabitants of the town of Boston would, at the peril of their lives and fortunes, take all legal and constitutional measures to defend all and singular the rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities granted in their royal charter.

They further resolved, that as the governor did not think proper to call a general court for the redress of their grievances, the town would then make choice of a suitable number of persons to act for them as a committee, in a convention to be held at Faneuil Hall, in Boston, with such as might be sent to join them from the several towns in the province.

These votes were communicated, in a circular letter, to the other towns in the province, which were invited to concur in them.

The measure was very generally adopted, and a convention assembled.

They petitioned the governor to assemble the general court, and addressed a letter to the agent for the province, in England, stating the character in which they met, and the motives which brought them together.

The day before the convention rose, two regiments, commanded by Colonel Dalrymple, arrived, under convoy, in Nantucket road. The application of the governor to the council, to provide quarters for them in Boston, had been rejected, because there were barracks sufficient for their reception in the castle. The troops were landed, and quartered in the state-house.

The utmost indignation was excited among the people, at seeing the chamber of their representatives filled with regular

soldiers, and their town exhibiting the appearance of a garrisoned place.

While these measures were pursuing in America, every session of Parliament was opened with information from the King, that a disposition to refuse obedience to the laws, and to resist the authority of the supreme legislature of the nation, still prevailed among his misguided subjects, in some of the colonies. In their address, answering the speeches, both houses uniformly expressed their abhorrence of the rebellious spirit manifested in the colonies, and their approbation of the measures taken by his Majesty for the restoration of order and good government.

To give a more solemn expression to the sense of Parliament on this subject, joint resolutions of both houses were at length entered into, condemning, in the strongest terms, the measures pursued by the Americans; and an address was likewise agreed on, approving the conduct of the crown, giving assurances of effectual support to such further measures as might be found necessary to maintain the civil magistrates in a due execution of the laws in Massachusetts, and beseeching him to direct the governor of that colony, to obtain and transmit to his Majesty, information of all treasons committed in Massachusetts since the year 1767, with the names of the persons who had been most active, that prosecutions might be instituted.

These threatening declarations, which seem to have been particularly directed against Massachusetts, made no impression on any of the colonies, in any degree favourable to the mother country. Their resolution to resist the exercise of the authority claimed by Great Britain, not only remained unshaken, but manifested itself in a still more determined form.

1769.—Associations had been set on foot, in Massachusetts, as early as May, 1768, for the non-importation of goods from Great Britain. These associations communicated with merchants residing in New-York, Philadelphia, and other towns. Similar associations were, in the course of that year, and 1769, formed in all the colonies. All ranks and conditions of persons seem to have united to give effect to them.

The situation of Massachusetts rendering a legislative grant of money necessary for the purposes of government, the general court of that colony was again convened. They, however, discovered no disposition to enter on the business for which they had been called. The governor supposing they might be induced to, were they removed from Boston, adjourned them, to meet at Cambridge. This measure served only to irritate and increase the difficulties which then existed.

The house refused to make the provision required by the mutiny act, for the troops stationed in Massachusetts; and this being the object for which they were most especially convened, they were prorogued until the 1st of January, 1770.

The Duke of Grafton, about this time, was placed at the head of the administration, and supported with great earnestness, a proposition for the repeal of all the duties imposed for the purpose of raising a revenue in the colonies. This moderate and judicious measure, he was unable completely to carry, a duty still being reserved on tea.

Never did a great and wise nation adopt a more ill-judged measure than this. The contest with America was a contest of principle. The measure now proposed for conciliation, while it encouraged in the Americans the hope that their cause was gaining strength in Britain, had no tendency to remove the ground of contest. Their opposition had been on the conviction, that the right to tax them was vested exclusively in themselves; and while this measure was thought to evidence the effect already produced by that opposition, it left in full force, all the motives which originally produced it.

The legislature in 1767, voted four thousand five hundred pounds for the service of the King's troops. Provision was made to run a line of jurisdiction between the provinces of New-York and Massachusetts. Sundry acts were passed during the same year, among which we shall name the following, to wit: An act to prevent delays in suits, by the death of either party, between verdict and judgment; an act for the better settling the estates of intestates; an act for the prevention of frauds; an act for the relief of creditors against fraudulent de-

vises; an act for the delivery of declarations to prisoners in custody; an act regulating trials in cases of treason. By the latter act, persons indicted were to have a copy of the indictment, and were allowed to make defence by counsel, and to call witnesses. Two witnesses were required to prove an overt act. Acts to prevent frivolous suits; to limit the time when writs of error should be brought for reversing fines and common recoveries; to enable posthumous children to take estates; to punish accessories to felonies; to prevent forgery, perjury, and subornation of perjury; and to relieve parishes against bastard children. The foregoing acts were, we believe, all copied from the English statute books. Most or all of these have been retained by the state government, with some modifications. The English statute book was the mine whence the colonial assemblies drew most of the provincial laws, as the latter have been the source whence the state legislatures have taken most of our statute laws, or such as have been enacted for the benefit of the whole community.

In the years 1768 and 1769, three thousand six hundred pounds were appropriated by the assembly, towards subsisting the King's troops stationed in the province of New-York. Every year requisitions were made by the British government for the maintenance and subsistence of the troops. In the succeeding year, two thousand pounds were voted.

On the twenty-ninth of September, 1769, the government of New-York devolved once more on Mr. Colden. Commissioners were nominated this year to meet those appointed by the adjoining colonies, for the purpose of making regulations in relation to the Indian trade. Commissioners and agents had, on former occasions, been convened for similar purposes.

The assembly this year enacted laws in relation to the improvement of roads, and the laying out and opening of others.

About this time, and a little before, settlements were formed at Johnstown, Ballston, Fort Ann, White Hall, and some other places. The opening of roads, and the improvements made on some which had been previously opened, tended very much towards the establishment of those settlements. The liberal terms, also, on which the lands were obtained, had a like tendency.

The Earl of Dunmore assumed the government of the province on the eighteenth of October, 1770.

The assembly on the sixteenth day of February, 1771, voted three hundred thousand dollars towards defraying the public debt created by the late war, and for meeting exigencies. This sum was apportioned among the several counties of the province, according to their population and wealth. An act was passed in the same month establishing the partition line between New-York and New Jersey, and confirmatory of the titles and possessions of certain of the inhabitants residing on and near the line.

In the year 1772, the counties of Tryon and Charlotte were erected from portions of the county of Albany. The former comprehended all the country westwardly of the present counties of Schenectady, Saratoga and Warren. Johnstown was made the shire town. The territory embraced in the counties of Otsego and Chenango were in the same county. The population of the county of Tryon was confined mostly to the banks and vicinity of the Mohawk. The name of Tryon was, in 1784, changed to Montgomery.

The county of Charlotte comprehended the southerly part of Washington county, and the southwesterly part of the State of Vermont.

The assembly, in the same year, divided the county of Albany into fifteen road districts, and the county of Tryon into five. The act is a document of considerable importance, and one which might be read with interest. We shall introduce so much of it as appertains to the latter county. The Mohawk district embraced the country on both sides of the river Mohawk, from the confines of Schenectady, westwardly to Anthony's Nose. The district of Stone Arabia, included the country on the north side of the Mohawk, from Anthony's Nose westwardly to the Little Falls. The district of Canajobary was on the south side of the Mohawk, and had the same extent on that river. The district of Germanflats lay on the north side of the Mohawk, and extended westwardly about sixteen miles. The district of Kingsland was south of the latter, being

separated by the river Mohawk. There were no settlements, at this time, westerly of these districts.

On the fifteenth of February, 1773, the assembly appropriated fifteen hundred pounds towards draining the drowned lands in the precinct of Goshen, in the county of Orange. A sum was also appropriated towards lowering Wickham's pond, situated in the same precinct. Great attention was paid by the house at this session to the opening and improving of roads in the province.

In 1775, the assembly did not convene.

The preceding matters, we have supposed, would be read with more interest, although not inserted according to the order of their dates.

1770.—In March, 1770, a circumstance occurred, which threatened, for the moment, effects the most extensively serious. The two regiments stationed at Boston, to support, as was said, the execution of the civil power, and preserve the peace of the town, could not fail to be viewed by the inhabitants with very prejudiced eyes. Frequent quarrels arose between them, and at length an affray took place, in which four of the people were killed.

The alarm bells were immediately rung, the drums beat to arms, and a large multitude assembled, who, inflamed to madness by the view of the dead bodies, were, with some difficulty, restrained from rushing on the twenty-ninth regiment, which was drawn up under arms, in King's-street, by the exertions of the lieutenant-governor, who promised that the laws should be enforced on the perpetrators.

Captain Preston, and the soldiers who fired, were committed to prison for trial. Colonel Dalrymple removed the troops from the town to the castle very shortly after.

Captain Preston, and six of the soldiers, were afterwards tried by a jury, composed of men residing in Boston, and acquitted. Two only were found guilty, and these of manslaughter. Mr. Quincy, and Mr. John Adams, who was afterwards President of the United States, were counsel for the prisoners.

From the fact of their acquittal, and that by a jury of the town where the deed was committed, it may be inferred that the military, on this occasion, had been grossly assaulted and abused. Indeed, it is said that they were assailed for some time by the mob, with balls of ice and snow, and sticks, before they fired.

This event increased in no inconsiderable degree, the detestation in which the soldiers, stationed among the people, were every where held.

In the middle and southern colonies, the irritation against the mother country, appears to have subsided in a considerable degree—and no disposition was manifested to extend their opposition further than to defeat the collection of the revenue, by entirely preventing the importation of tea. Their attention was a good deal taken up by an insurrection in North Carolina, where a number of ignorant people, supposing themselves to be aggrieved by the tea bill, rose in arms for the purpose of shutting up the courts of justice, destroying all officers of government and all lawyers, and of prostrating government itself. Governor Tryon marched against them, and having, in a decisive battle, totally defeated them, the insurrection was quelled, and order restored.

In Massachusetts, where very high opinions of American rights had long been imbibed; and where the doctrine that the British Parliament could not rightfully legislate for the Americans was already maintained; a gloomy discontent with the existing state of things was every where manifested. The legislature had been removed from Boston to Cambridge, where the governor still continued to convene them. They remonstrated against this as an intolerable grievance, and for two sessions refused to do business.

When assembled in September, the general court was informed by the governor, that his Majesty had ordered the Provincial garrison in the castle to be withdrawn, and regular troops to succeed them. This they declared to be so essential an alteration of their constitution as justly to alarm a free people.

From the commencement of the contest, the people of Mas-

sachusetts appear to have deeply felt the importance of uniting all the colonies in one system of measures, and in pursuance of this, a committee of correspondence was, at this session elected, to communicate with such committees as might be appointed by other colonies; similar committees were soon after chosen by the different towns throughout the province. The example was afterwards followed by other colonies.

1772.—Although the governor, judges, and other high colonial officers, had been appointed by the crown, they had hitherto depended on the provincial legislatures for their salaries; and this dependence had always been highly valued, as giving to the colonies an important influence on their conduct. As a part of the new system, it had been determined, that the salaries of these officers should be fixed by the crown and paid, without the intervention of the legislature. This measure was adopted in relation to all the royal governments. It gave high offence, and was declared, by the house of representatives, to be an infraction of the rights of the inhabitants, granted to them by charter.

1773.—About this time a discovery was made, which greatly increased the discontents already so prevalent in New England. Doctor Franklin, the agent for several of the colonies, and among others, for Massachusetts, by some unknown means, obtained possession of the letters which had been addressed by Governor Hutchinson, and by Lieutenant-governor Oliver, to the department of state. These letters he transmitted to the general court.

The opposition was represented to be confined to a few factious men, whose conduct was by no means generally approved, and who had been emboldened by the weakness of the means used to restrain them. More vigorous measures were recommended, and several specific propositions, peculiarly offensive to the colony, were made, among which was the alteration of their charters, and the rendering the high offices dependant solely on the crown for their salaries.

Inflamed by these letters, the assembly unanimously resolved, that their tendency and design was to overthrow the constitu-

tion of the government, and to introduce arbitrary power into the province. At the same time, a petition to the King was voted, praying him to remove Governor Hutchinson and Lieutenant-governor Oliver, for ever, from the government of the colony. This petition was transmitted to Dr. Franklin, and laid before the King in council, where it was heard; and in a few days the lords of the council reported, that the petition in question was founded upon false and erroneous allegations, and that the same was groundless, vexatious, and scandalous, and calculated only for the seditious purposes of keeping up a spirit of clamour and discontent in the province. Hutchinson, however, was afterwards removed, and General Gage was appointed.

The determination of the colonies not to import tea from England, had so lessened the demand, that a very considerable quantity had accumulated in the stores of the East India Company. They urged the minister to take off the import American duty, of three pence per pound, and offered, in lieu of it, to pay double that sum. This fair opportunity for accommodation was rejected; they, however, were allowed drawbacks on tea exported to the colonies.

After these encouragements had been held forth, the company proceeded to make shipments to the colonies on their own account. Large quantities were consigned to agents in Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, Charleston, &c.

The crisis now approached; and the conduct of the colonies was to determine whether they would be taxed by the Parliament, or meet the consequences. If the tea should be landed, it would be sold, the duties would be paid, and the precedent for taxing them established. The same sentiment on this subject pervaded all the colonies. This ministerial plan of importation was every where considered as a direct attack on the liberties of the people, which it was the duty of all to oppose. The consignees were generally compelled to relinquish their appointments.

At Boston the people, in a meeting, adopted the spirited resolutions which had before been entered into in Philadelphia.

A second large meeting was held, where it was voted, that the tea should not be landed; that no duty should be paid; and that it should be sent back in the same bottoms. With a foreboding of the consequences of the measure about to be adopted, and with a wish that those consequences should be seriously contemplated, Mr. Quincy thus addressed the meeting:

"It is not, Mr. Moderator, the spirit that vapours within these walls, that will defend us; instead of it, we must gird on armour. The exertions of this day will call forth events which will make a very different spirit necessary for our salvation. Whoever supposes that hosannas will terminate the trials of the day, entertains a childish fancy. We must be grossly ignorant of the importance and value of the prize for which we contend; we must be equally ignorant of the power of those who have combined against us, we must be blind to that malice, inveteracy, and insatiable revenge, which actuate our enemies, public and private, abroad and in our bosom, to hope, that we shall end this controversy without the sharpest, sharpest conflicts; to flatter ourselves that popular resolves, popular harangues, popular acclamations, and popular vapour, will vanquish our foes. Let us look to the end. Let us weigh and consider, before we advance to those measures, which must bring on the most trying and terrible struggle this country ever saw."

The question was again put and passed, without a negative.

The meeting was then dissolved. An immense crowd repaired to the quay. Here a number of the most resolute, disguised like Mohawk Indians, boarded the vessels, and in about two hours broke open three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, and discharged their contents into the ocean.

These proceedings of the colonists were laid before Parliament, in a message from the King, and a very high and general indignation was excited. They expressed, almost unanimously, their approbation of the measures adopted by his Majesty, and gave the most explicit assurances, that they would not fail to exert every means in their power to provide for the due execution of the laws, and to secure the dependence of the colonies. A bill

was soon brought in for discontinuing the lading and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandise at Boston, or the harbour thereof, and for the removal of the custom to Salem. This bill was to continue in force, not only till compensation should be made to the East India Company, but till the King in council should declare himself satisfied as to the restoration of peace and good order in the town of Boston. It passed both the houses without a division, and almost without opposition.

Soon after a bill was brought in, for better regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts. By this act the charter was totally subverted, and the nomination of counsellors, and of all magistrates and officers vested in the crown. This bill was also carried through both houses by great majorities, but not without vigorous opposition.

The next measure proposed, was a bill for the impartial administration of justice in the province of Massachusetts. It provided, that in case any person should be indicted in that province for murder, or any other capital offence, and it should appear to the governor that the fact was committed in the exercise or aid of magistracy in suppressing riots, and that a fair trial could not be had in the province, he should send the person so indicted to any other colony, or to Great Britain, to be tried. This was to continue in force four years.

A bill was also passed for quartering soldiers on the inhabitants, and the system was completed, by an act for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec.

Amidst these hostile measures, one single conciliatory proposition was made. Mr. Rose Fuller moved, that the house resolve itself into a committee to take into consideration the duty on the importation of tea into America, with a view to its repeal. This motion was seconded by Mr. Burke, and supported with all the splendour of his eloquence; but it was lost by a great majority. The Earl of Chatham made his appearance again in the house of lords. But his efforts were unavailing.

On receiving the first intelligence of the Boston port bill, a meeting of the people of that town was called.

Resolutions were passed, expressing their opinion of the impolicy, injustice, inhumanity and cruelty of the act, from which they appealed to God and the world; and also inviting the other colonies to join with them, in an agreement to stop all imports and exports, to and from Great Britain, Ireland and the West Indies, until the act should be repealed, as the only means remaining for the salvation of America and her liberties.

Addresses were soon received from every part of the continent, expressing sentiments of sympathy in their sufferings, exhorting them to resolution and perseverance, and assuring them that they were considered as suffering in the common cause.

Associations were entered into by the members of the assembly of Virginia, and resolutions were passed, in which they declared, that an attack on one colony, to compel submission to arbitrary taxes, is an attack on all. They, therefore, recommended to the committee of correspondence, to communicate with the several other committees, of the other provinces, on the expediency of appointing deputies from the different colonies, to meet annually in general congress, and to deliberate on those measures which the united interests of America might, from time to time, render necessary. This measure had already been proposed in town-meetings, in the provinces of New-York and Massachusetts.

While the people of Boston were yet employed in the first consultations, which took place on hearing of the bill directed against their town, General Gage arrived.

In a few days, the general court was assembled, and had notice from the governor, that their place of session would be changed, and that they would be called together on the first of June, at Salem. To evade this measure, they endeavoured to complete the business before them, prior to that day, which being made known to his excellency, he hastily adjourned them to the eleventh of June, then to meet at Salem.

Soon after assembling, the house of representatives, mindful of the importance of combining the wisdom of America in one grand council, passed resolutions, declaring the expediency of

a meeting of committees from the several colonies, for the purposes therein specified, and appointing five as a committee, on the part of Massachusetts.

The colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia, adopted this measure.

The governor having obtained information of the manner in which the house was employed, sent his secretary to dissolve it.

Soon after, drafts of the remaining bills, relative to the province of Massachusetts, as well as that of the quartering troops in America, were received at Boston, and circulated through the country. These served to confirm the wavering and render the moderate indignant.

An agreement was framed by the committee of correspondence at Boston, entitled a solemn league and covenant, wherein the subscribers bound themselves to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, until the Boston port bill, and the other obnoxious laws, should be repealed. They also bound themselves, not to consume or purchase from any other, any goods whatever, which arrived, and to break off all commerce and dealings with any who did. They also renounced all connexion with those who should refuse to subscribe to that covenant, or to bind themselves by some similar agreement.

General Gage published, against this covenant, a proclamation, in which it was termed, an unlawful, hostile and traitorous combination, contrary to the allegiance due to the King, destructive of the legal authority of Parliament, and of the peace, good order and safety of the community. All persons were warned against incurring the pains and penalties due to such dangerous offences, and all magistrates were charged to apprehend and secure such as should be guilty of them.

It was every where declared, that the cause of Boston was that of America; that the late acts, respecting that devoted town, were unjust, tyrannical and unconstitutional; that the opposition to this ministerial system of oppression, ought to be universally maintained; and that all intercourse with the parent state, ought to be suspended.

The committees of correspondence selected Philadelphia for the place, and the beginning of September for the time of the meeting.

On the fourth of September, 1774, the delegates from eleven provinces, appeared at the place appointed, and the next day they assembled at the Carpenter's Hall, when Peyton Randolph was chosen president.

Committees were appointed to state the rights claimed by the colonies, which had been infringed by acts of the British Parliament, passed since 1763, to prepare a petition to the King, and addresses to the people of Great Britain, to the inhabitants of the province of Quebec, and to the colonies represented in Congress.

Among other resolves, a declaration of rights was agreed to, at a very early period of the session. It merits attention, because it states the ground now taken by America:—

"When," say they, in their address to the people of Great Britain, "a nation led to greatness by the hand of liberty, and possessed of all the glory that heroism, munificence and humanity can bestow, descends to the ungrateful task of forging chains for her friends and children, and instead of giving support to freedom, turns advocate for slavery and oppression, there is reason to suspect she has either ceased to be virtuous, or been extremely negligent in the appointment of her rulers.

"In almost every age, in repeated conflicts, in long and bloody wars, as well civil as foreign, against many and powerful nations, against the open assaults of enemies, and the more dangerous treachery of friends, have the inhabitants of your island, your great and glorious ancestors, maintained their independence, and transmitted the rights of men, and the blessings of liberty to you their posterity.

"Be not surprised, therefore, that we, who are descended from the same common ancestors, that we, whose forefathers participated in all the rights, the liberties, and the constitution you so justly boast of, and who have carefully conveyed the same fair inheritance, to us guaranteed by the plighted faith of government, and the most solemn compacts with British sov-

reigns, should refuse to surrender them to men, who found their claim on no principles of reason, and who prosecute them with a design, that by having our lives and property in their power, they may, with the greater facility, enslave you.

" We claim to be free as well as our fellow-subjects of Great Britain, and are not the proprietors of the soil of Great Britain, lords of their own property? Can it be taken from them without their consent? Will they yield it to the arbitrary disposal of any men, or number of men whatever? You know they will not.

" Why then are the proprietors of the soil of America less lords of their property than you are of yours, or why should they submit it to the disposal of your Parliament, or any other Parliament or council in the world, not of their election? Can the intervention of the sea that divides us, cause disparity in rights, or can any reason be given why English subjects, who live three thousand miles from the royal palace, should enjoy less liberty than those who are three hundred miles distant from it?

" Reason looks with indignation on such distinctions, and freemen can never perceive their propriety.

" At the conclusion of the late war——a war rendered glorious by the abilities and integrity of a minister, to whose efforts the British empire owes its safety and its fame; at the conclusion of this war, which was succeeded by an inglorious peace, formed under the auspicies of a minister of principles, and of a family unfriendly to the protestant cause, and inimical to liberty; we say, at this period, and under the influence of that man, a plan for enslaving your fellow-subjects in America, was concerted, and has ever since been pertinaciously carrying into execution."

The former relative situation of the two countries is then stated, &c. The transactions, since the conclusion of the war, are passed in solemn review; and they add, "this being a true state of facts, let us beseech you to consider to what end they lead.

"Admit that the ministry, by the powers of Britain, and the

aid of our Roman Catholic neighbours, should be able to carry the point of taxation, and reduce us to a state of perfect humiliation and slavery; such an enterprise would doubtless make some addition to your national debt, which already presses down your liberties, and fills you with pensioners and placemen. We presume also, that your commerce will somewhat be diminished. However, suppose you should prove victorious—in what condition will you then be? What advantages or what laurels will you reap from such a conquest? May not a ministry, with the same armies, enslave you?"

The resources which the subjugation of America would place in the hands of the crown, are then expatiated on, and the address proceeds: "we believe there is yet much virtue, much justice, and much public spirit in the English nation. To that justice, we now appeal. You have been told, that we are seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency. Be assured that these are not facts, but calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness—we shall ever be ready to contribute all in our power, to the welfare of the empire—we shall consider your enemies as our enemies, and your interest as our own.

"But if you are determined that your ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind—if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the constitution, nor the suggestions of humanity, can restrain your hands from shedding human blood, in such an impious cause; we must then tell you, that we will never submit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water, for any ministry or nation in the world.

"Place us in the same situation that we were at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored."

The committee that drafted this eloquent address, were John Jay, Esquire, late governor of the State of New-York, Mr. Livingston, late chancellor, and a Mr. Lee.

The petition to the King states briefly the grievances complained of, and then proceeds:—

"Had our Creator been pleased to give us existence in a

land of slavery, the sense of our condition might have been mitigated by ignorance and habit. But thanks be to His adorable goodness, we were born the heirs of freedom, and ever enjoyed our right under the auspices of your royal ancestors, whose family was seated on the British throne, to rescue and secure a pious and gallant nation from the popery and despotism of a superstitious and inexorable tyrant. Your Majesty, we are confident, justly rejoices that your title to the crown is thus founded on the title of your people to liberty; and therefore, we doubt not, but your royal wisdom must approve the sensibility, that teaches your subjects anxiously to guard the blessing they received from Divine Providence, and thereby to prove the performance of that compact, which elevated the illustrious House of Brunswick to the imperial dignity it now possesses.

"The apprehension of being degraded into a state of servitude, from the pre-eminent rank of English freemen, while our minds retain the strongest love of liberty, and clearly foresee the miseries preparing for us and for our posterity, excites emotions in our breasts, which, though we cannot describe, we should not wish to conceal. Feeling as men, and thinking as subjects, in the manner we do, silence would be disloyalty. By giving this faithful information, we do all in our power to promote the great objects of your royal cares—the tranquillity of your government, and the welfare of your people.

"Duty to your Majesty, and regard for the preservation of ourselves and our posterity, the primary obligations of nature and society, command us to entreat your royal attention; and as your Majesty enjoys the signal distinction of reigning over freemen, we apprehend the language of freemen cannot be displeasing. Your royal indignation, we hope, will rather fall on those designing and dangerous men, who daringly interposing themselves between your royal person and your faithful subjects, and who, for several years past incessantly employed to dissolve the bonds of society, by abusing your Majesty's authority, misrepresenting your American subjects, and prosecuting the most desperate and irritating projects of oppression, have at length compelled us, by the force of accumulated injuries,

too severe to be any longer tolerable, to disturb your Majesty's repose by our complaints.

"These sentiments are extorted from hearts that much more willingly would bleed in your Majesty's service. Yet so greatly have we been misrepresented, that a necessity has been alleged of taking our property from us, without our consent, to defray the charge of the administration of justice, the support of civil government, and the defence, protection and security of the colonies.

"Yielding to no British subjects in affectionate attachment to your Majesty's person, family and government, we too dearly prize the privilege of expressing that attachment by those proofs that are honourable to the Prince that receives them, and to the people who give them, ever to resign it to any body of men upon earth.

"We ask but for peace, liberty and safety. We wish not diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favour—your royal authority over us, and our connexion with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain."

"Permit us then, most gracious sovereign, in the name of all your faithful people in America, with the utmost humility to implore you for the honour of Almighty God, whose pure religion our enemies are undermining, for your glory which can be advanced, only by rendering your subjects happy, and keeping them united, for the interests of your family, depending on an adherence to the principles that enthroned it; for the safety and welfare of your kingdom and dominions, threatened by almost unavoidable dangers and distresses, that your Majesty, as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bonds of law, loyalty, faith and blood, though dwelling in various countries, will not suffer the transcendent relation formed by these ties, to be further violated in uncertain expectation of effects, that if attained, never can compensate for the calamities through which they must be gained."

They published an address to the American people, which is replete with serious and contemplative argument. In this paper

the several causes which had led to the existing state of things were set out at large, in order to convince them that their liberties would be destroyed, and the security of their property and persons annihilated by submission to the pretensions of Great Britain. They stated the measures that had been adopted, and after having declared their confidence, that the mode of resistance which had been recommended, would prove efficacious if persisted in, they concluded with saying, "your own salvation, and that of your posterity, now depends upon yourselves. You have already shown that you entertain a proper sense of the blessings you are striving to retain. Against the temporary inconveniences you may suffer from a stoppage of trade, you will weigh in the opposite balance, the endless miseries you and your descendants must endure from an established arbitrary power. You will not forget the honour of your country, that must, from your behaviour, take its title in the estimation of the world, to glory or to shame; and you will, with the deepest attention, reflect, that if the peaceable mode of opposition, recommended by us, be broken and rendered ineffectual, as your cruel and haughty ministerial enemies, from a contemptuous opinion of your firmness, insolently predict will be the case, you must inevitably be reduced to choose, either a more dangerous contest, or a final, ruinous and infamous submission.

"Motives thus cogent, arising from the emergency of your unhappy condition, must excite your utmost diligence and zeal to give all possible strength and energy to the pacific measures calculated for your relief. But we think ourselves bound in duty to observe to you, that the schemes agitated against the colonies have been so conducted, as to render it prudent that you should extend your views to mournful events, and be in all respects prepared for every contingency. Above all things, we earnestly entreat you, with devotion of spirit, penitence of heart, and amendment of life, to humble yourselves, and implore the favour of Almighty God; and we fervently beseech His divine goodness to take you into his gracious protection."

This address was also drawn by John Jay, Esquire, and Messrs. Livingston and Lee.

Letters were addressed to the people of Canada, and to the colonies of Georgia, Nova Scotia, St. Johns, &c. inviting them to unite with their brethren in the common cause of British America.

Having finished the business before them, and recommended that another Congress should be held at Philadelphia, on the tenth day of May, 1775, they dissolved.

The proceedings of Congress were read throughout America with enthusiastic admiration.

The people in general made great efforts to arm and discipline themselves. Independent companies were every where formed, and the whole face of the country exhibited the appearance of an approaching war.

Soon after the entrance of General Gage into his government, two regiments of foot, with a detachment of artillery and cannon, arrived at Boston, and encamped within the peninsula. They were gradually reinforced by several regiments from Ireland, and from different parts of the continent. The dissatisfaction was increased by placing a guard on Boston neck.

A report was spread, that a regiment stationed on the neck had cut off the communication of the town with the country, in order to starve it into submission. On hearing this, the inhabitants of the adjacent county of Worcester assembled in arms, and dispatched two messengers to inquire into the fact.

With the laws relative to the province, Governor Gage received a list of thirty-two new counsellors, twenty-four of whom, a sufficient number to carry on the business of the government, accepted the office, and entered on its duties.

All those who accepted offices under the new system were denounced. The new judges were every where prevented from acting.

In the present state of the public affairs, General Gage deemed it necessary, for the security of his troops, to fortify Boston neck.

The time for the general muster of the militia approached; and the governor, feeling apprehensive of an attack, seized upon the ammunition and stores which were in the provincial arsenal at Cambridge, and had them removed to Boston. He also seized upon the powder in the magazines at Charlestown and some other places.

This measure excited a great ferment. The people assembled in great numbers, and were with difficulty dissuaded from marching to Boston, and demanding a re-delivery. Not long afterwards the fort at Portsmouth in New Hampshire was taken by a body of Provincials, and the powder it contained transported to a place of safety. A similar measure was adopted in Rhode Island.

About the same time, a report reached Connecticut, that the ships and troops had attacked the town of Boston. Several thousand men immediately assembled in arms, and commenced their march for Boston.

General Gage had, before the general ferment had risen to its present height, issued writs for the election of members to a general assembly, to meet in October. He had afterwards countermanded these writs, but his countermand was not attended to. The elections were held, and delegates were elected. These assembled, and voted themselves a provincial congress, and proceeded to business. They drew up a plan for the defence of the province, provided magazines, ammunition, and stores for twelve thousand militia, and enrolled a number of minute-men.

In Great Britain a new Parliament was assembled, and the King, in his speech, informed them, " that a most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience still prevailed in Massachusetts, and had broken forth in fresh violences of a very criminal nature, &c.

The addresses proposed re-echoed the sentiments of the speech, and the amendments offered, were rejected in both houses by very large majorities. Yet the business respecting America was not promptly entered into. The friends of conciliation availed themselves of this delay, to bring forward propositions

which might restore harmony to the different parts of the empire.

1775.—Lord Chatham, taking into view the future course of events, demonstrated to the house the impossibility of subjugating America, and urged the immediate removal of the troops from Boston. He also brought forward a bill for settling the troubles in America, but it was rejected.

The next day after its rejection, Lord North moved, in the house of commons, an address to his Majesty, in which it was declared, that they find that a rebellion actually exists in the province of Massachusetts. In the course of the debate, a General Grant declared, that at the head of five regiments he would undertake to traverse the whole country, and drive the inhabitants from one end of the continent to the other. The address was carried.

Lord North soon after moved a bill for restraining the commerce of the New England provinces, and prohibiting them from carrying on the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland.

While this bill was pending, and only vengeance was breathed by the supporters of the present system, his lordship, to the astonishment of the house, suddenly moved, what he termed, his conciliatory proposition. Its amount was, that Parliament would forbear to tax any colony which would tax itself in such a sum as would be satisfactory. The house, however, would not pass it, before the administration gave it such an explanation as to satisfy the house, that it was in maintenance of their right to tax the colonies. It, however, on reaching America, met with no better success than the other odious and oppressive laws already passed.

After the passage of the bill for restraining the trade of New England, information was received, that the inhabitants of the middle and southern colonies were supporting their northern brethren in every measure of opposition. In consequence of this intelligence, a second bill was brought in for imposing similar restrictions on the colonies of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, and Delaware.

In the course of the session the house of commons refused to hear a petition offered by Mr. Burke, from the assembly of New-York, because it was suggested by the minister, that it contained claims incompatible with the supremacy of Parliament. This haughty rejection tended to convince the people of New-York, that there was no medium between resistance and absolute submission.

See Williams' History of Vermont, Colonial Laws, Marshall's Life of Washington, &c.

CHAPTER IV.

The delegates of the continental Congress convene in the city of New-York—General Gage detaches Colonel Smith with troops to destroy the stores at Concord—Battle of Lexington—Troops levied in Massachusetts—Ticonderoga and Crown Point taken—Congress publish a manifesto—General Howe arrives with troops at Boston—Battle of Bunker's Hill—Washington appointed to the chief command of the American armies—He repairs to the army near Boston—The Americans invest Boston—Proceedings in New-York—The British compelled to leave Boston—The Americans invade Canada, and reduce St. Johns and Montreal—Montgomery marches upon Quebec—Arnold proceeds through the wilderness, by the rivers Kennebeck and Chaudier, and joins Montgomery before Quebec—Investment of Quebec—Death of Montgomery, and repulse of the Americans in attempting to storm Quebec.

In the mean time, delegates for the ensuing Congress were chosen. In New-York a convention was chosen for the sole purpose of electing members to represent that colony in Congress.

In New England an expectation of hostilities was daily anticipated, but the people had determined to repel, not to commence.

A quantity of military stores had been collected at Concord, eighteen miles from Boston; on the evening of the eighteenth of April, 1775, General Gage detached Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, with nine hundred men, to destroy them. About five in the morning of the nineteenth they reached Lexington, where they found seventy militia men, belonging to that town, drawn up on the parade and under arms.

Major Pitcairn, who led the van, galloped up, calling out. " disperse, rebels—throw down your arms, and disperse."

The soldiers, at the same time, ran up huzzaing, several guns were fired first, which were immediately followed by a general discharge, and the firing was continued as long as any of the militia appeared. Eight men were killed and several wounded.

Colonel Smith then proceeded to Concord, while the detachment were employed in destroying the stores; some minutemen and militia, who had assembled, approached a bridge, as if to pass it in the character of travellers. They were fired on, and two killed. The fire was returned, and a skirmish ensued, in which Colonel Smith was worsted and compelled to retreat, with some loss. The country was now generally alarmed, and the people rushed from every quarter to the scene of action. The King's troops were attacked on all sides. Skirmish after skirmish ensued, and they were driven from post to post, into Lexington. General Gage, apprehending the expedition to be not entirely without hazard, dispatched Lord Percy, with sixteen companies of foot, a corps of marines, and two pieces of cannon, to support Colonel Smith. This seasonable reinforcement reached Lexington about the time of the arrival of the retreating party, otherwise the whole would have been destroyed. The action abated until the enemy resumed their retreat, when it was again renewed, and an irregular but very galling fire was kept on the flanks front and rear, from stone fences, until the enemy arrived, about sunset, on the common of Charlestown.

In this action the loss of the British in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was two hundred and seventy-three men, while that of the Provincials did not exceed ninety. This was the commencement of a long and bloody war.

The provincial congress, immediately on the news of this battle, passed a vote for raising thirteen thousand six hundred men in Massachusetts, to be commanded by General Ward, and for calling on New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, for their respective quotas of troops, so as to complete an army of thirty thousand men.

The neighbouring colonies hastened to furnish the number

of men required; and in the mean time, such numbers voluntarily assembled, that many were dismissed for want of arms, &c. The King's troops were now blocked up in the peninsula of Boston.

On receiving intelligence of the battle of Lexington, the people of the colony of New-York took up arms, but there was considerable opposition at first from the royal party.

About the same time, that active spirit, which at the commencement of hostilities, seemed in so remarkable a degree to have pervaded New England, manifested itself in an expedition of considerable merit.

The possession of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and the command of lakes Champlain and George, were deemed objects of great importance. Deane, Wooster and Parsons formed the bold design of seizing these fortresses by surprise. They, therefore, left Connecticut with about forty men, and proceeded towards Bennington, where, meeting with Colonel Ethan Allen, they proposed to him to raise the men which would be required to aid them in its execution.

Colonel Allen entered into their views, and engaged to meet them with the requisite number of men at Castleton in Vermont, whither they were to repair. At this place about two hundred and seventy men assembled, who were joined by Colonel Arnold. This officer had come with the same intent, and was authorized by the committee of safety of Massachusetts to raise four hundred men.

Colonels Allen and Arnold proceeded from thence to Lake Champlain, opposite Ticonderoga, in the night of May ninth. They embarked with eighty-three men, crossed the lake, landed without being discovered, and entered the fort, which they took by surprise. The garrison consisted of forty-four men, one lieutenant, and one captain.

Colonel Seth Warner was then detached to take Crown Point, where a sergeant and twelve men were stationed. This service was immediately executed.

The military stores found at these places were of considerable value to the Americans. The pass at Skeensborough

(White Hall) was seized at the same time by a party of volunteers from Connecticut.

To complete the expedition, it was necessary to obtain the command of Lake Champlain, which could only be effected by taking a sloop of war at St. Johns. Arnold, to effect this, manned a schooner, and sailed to St. Johns, and surprised the sloop.

Thus, a few individuals, without the loss of a man, captured Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

The intelligence of the capture of these forts was communicated to Congress, then just assembled in Philadelphia.

Congress, among other things, proceeded to organize the higher departments of the army. Bills of credit, to the amount of three millions of dollars, were emitted for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the war, and the twelve confederated colonies were pledged for their redemption.

Articles of war, for the government of the continental army were formed, though as yet, the troops were raised under the authority of the states, without even a requisition from Congress, except in a few instances.

A declaration, in the form of a manifesto, was published to the army, in orders, and to the people from the pulpit. After detailing the causes of their opposition to the mother country, with energy, the manifesto exclaims, "but why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? by one statute it is declared that Parliament can of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever. What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? not a single man of those who assume it is chosen by us, or is subject to our control or influence; but on the contrary, they are, all of them, exempt from the operation of such laws, and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion as they increase ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We have, for ten years, incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as suppliants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with Parliament, in the mildest and most decent language.

"We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force—the latter is our choice—we have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honour, justice and humanity forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

"Our cause is just—our union is perfect—our internal resources are great, and if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable—we gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the Divine favour towards us, that his Providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operation, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world, declare, that exerting the utmost energy of those powers, which our beneficent Creator hath most graciously bestowed on us, the arms we have been compelled, by our enemies to assume, we will in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties, being with one mind, resolved to die freemen, rather than to live slaves.

"Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects, in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent states. We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people

attacked by unprovoked enemies without any imputation, or even suspicion of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

"In our own native land, in defence of the freedom, that is our birth-right, and which we ever enjoyed until the late violation of it—for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before."

During these transactions, Generals Howe, Burgoyne and Clinton, with a reinforcement of troops, arrived at Boston; soon after which General Gage published a proclamation, declaring martial law to be in force, and offering pardon to those who would lay down their arms and submit to the King, with the exception of Samuel Adams and John Hancock.

This proclamation served only to increase the activity of the Americans.

The provincial congress recommended the occupation of Bunker's Hill, which commands Charlestown. In pursuance of this, one thousand men were detached under Colonel Prescot to take possession, but by some mistake, Breed's Hill, situated next to Boston, was marked out instead of Bunker's Hill.

Colonel Prescot proceeded by night to Breed's Hill, and commenced works of defence. As soon as light had discovered them to the enemy, a heavy cannonade was opened from the ships in the river near by. The Provincials, however, continued their labour.

As this eminence overlooks Boston, General Gage deemed it necessary to drive them from it. To effect this object, he sent Major-general Howe, and Brigadier-general Pigot, with twenty companies of infantry and grenadiers, and some companies of artillery. They debarked the troops at Morton's Point, where they formed; but perceiving that the Americans waited for them, they remained on the ground until a reinforcement,

which General Howe had applied for, arrived. During this interval the American Generals Warren and Pommeroy arrived with a reinforcement.

On being joined by the reinforcement, General Howe advanced slowly, under cover of a very heavy discharge of cannon from the ships. While he was advancing he gave orders to burn Charlestown. In a few minutes the whole village, containing about five hundred houses, was enveloped in flames.

The scene of action was in full view of the heights of Boston and of its vicinity.

The Americans allowed the enemy to approach within one hundred yards of their works, when they poured upon them so deadly a fire that the British line was totally broken, and fell back with precipitation towards the landing place. Here they were rallied and brought up to a second charge, but were again driven back. General Howe formed them, and with great difficulty, led them a third time up to the works. The ammunition of the Americans being now nearly expended, their fire began to slacken, and the enemy, availing themselves of this circumstance, entered with fixed bayonets and carried them. The Americans immediately retreated over Charlestown neck, and took a new position.

In this affair, the force employed by the British general, amounted to three thousand men. Their killed and wounded exceeded ten hundred and fifty men, while the loss of the Americans was only four hundred and fifty. In this action, General Warren, the commander of the Americans, was killed.

The colonial force, engaged in this action, was stated through the country at fifteen hundred; by some, it has been supposed to have amounted to four thousand.

Although the ground was lost, the Americans claimed the victory.

The enemy, in consequence of the great loss sustained in the battle, did not attempt further offensive operations, but contended themselves with seizing and fortifying Bunker's Hill, which secured to them the peninsula of Charlestown. Here they were as closely blockaded as they were in Boston.

On the fifteenth day of June, 1775, the American Congress appointed George Washington, Esq., then a delegate and member of that body, general and commander-in-chief of the armies of the United Colonies. They also, at the same time, appointed Artemas Ward, of Massachusetts, who commanded the forces before Boston; Colonel Lee, Philip Schuyler of New-York, and Israel Putnam of Connecticut, Major-generals, and Horatio Gates, Adjutant-general.

General Washington prepared, without delay, to enter upon the dutes of his station, and having passed a few days in New-York, where General Schuyler commanded, and where several important arrangments were to be made, he proceeded to Cambridge, the head-quarters of the American army.

The first moments after his arrival in camp, were employed in reconnoitering the enemy, and examining the strength and situation of the American forces.

The main body of the British army, under the command of General Howe, was intrenching itself on Bunker's Hill, about a mile from Charlestown, and about half a mile in advance of the works which had been thrown up by the Americans on Breed's Hill. Three floating batteries lay in Mystic river, near the camp, and a twenty gun-ship below the ferry, between Boston and Charlestown. There was, also, on the Boston side of the water, on Cope's Hill, a strong battery. The other division of the British army was deeply intrenched on Roxbury neck. These two divisions secured the only avenues leading from the country into the two peninsulas of Boston and Charlestown.

The American army lay on both sides of Charles river. Its right occupied the high grounds about Roxbury, from whence it extended towards Dorchester, and its left was covered by Mystic or Medford river.

Intrenchments were raised on Winter and Prospect Hills. A strong intrenchment was also made at Sewel's Farm.

At Roxbury, where General Thomas commanded, a strong work had been erected on the hill.

The troops from New Hampshire, with a regiment fro Rhode Island, amounting to nearly two thousand men, occupied Winter Hill. About one thousand men, commanded b General Putnam, were on Prospect Hill. Between four an five thousand men were stationed at Roxbury. The residue, except about seven hundred men, were placed at Sewel' Farm.

Thus the American forces occupied a considerable extent and effectually prevented the enemy from stirring out of their works.

Washington, about this time, divided the army into thre divisions. That part which lay at Roxbury constituted th right wing, and was commanded by General Ward; those troops at Mystic or Medford river, formed the left, and was placed under General Lee; the centre division, including the reserve, was under his own immediate command. The whole amounted to about fourteen thousand five hundred men. The deficiency of ammunition was such, that no operations could be undertaken. Bayonets, intrenching implements, and even tents, were deficient to a very alarming extent. No uniformity existed in the army, and very little order. In Massachusetts the men had chosen their officers, and felt no inferiority to them. Animated with the spirit of liberty, and collected for its defence, they were not sensible of the importance of discipline, and it was found no easy matter to make them conform to its rules. The army was, consequently, in a state of almost entire disorganization. The time of service of many was to expire in November, and none were engaged longer than the last of December.

To the many other wants of the army, was added that of clothes. Their operations were greatly affected too, by the total want of engineers. To increase the derangements, the appointment of general officers gave extensive dissatisfaction, and occasioned several to withdraw.

These disadvantages deducted essentially from the efficiency of the army; but Washington observed that there were mate-

rials for a good army. He was, therefore, indefatigable in organizing it, so as to render it more useful. He arranged the army into brigades and divisions, and procured the appointment of a paymaster and quarter-master-general, and such other general staff as are necessary in the formation of a regular army.

About this time General Gage was reinforced by a detachment of troops from New-York, after which his whole army amounted to about eight thousand effective men. But he made no attempt on the American lines, probably on account of the severe reception given to his troops at Breed's Hill.

Both armies continued to work on their fortifications, without seriously molesting each other. Small skirmishes occasionally happened between the outposts.

In the mean time the distress of the British army for provisions became very considerable. They could obtain none from the country, because all the avenues were strongly guarded. Several predatory parties sailed out of Boston, but as they were met by the militia wherever they landed, they could not relieve the wants of their countrymen, cooped up in town.

In July, Georgia joined the confederacy; after which the style of the Thirteen United Colonies was assumed.

Congress, after a recess of one month, met again on the fifth of September. Immediately after their meeting, they exerted themselves in order to supply the army with arms, ammunition, and other things. They dispatched agents to the coast of Africa, who purchased considerable quantities of powder at the British forts. They also caused a magazine in the island of Bermuda to be seized. Their efforts were also directed to the manufacture of powder. But all these measures, however, were inadequate to the demand.

Orders had been issued in his Majesty's name, to the commanders of ships of war, to burn such towns situated on the coast as should be found in arms. Accordingly, a small naval force, commanded by Captain Mowatt, sailed for Falmouth. a seaport town between Boston and Halifax, and reduced it to ashes.

This measure was very strongly reprobated throughout America, and was a mean of turning the attention of Congress to their marine.

The convention of Massachusetts, however, before Congress took the matter up, granted letters of marque and reprisal.

Congress, in the first instance, did not grant general letters, but directed such vessels as sailed out under their orders, to capture no ships, but such as were engaged in giving assistance to the enemy.

A few small cruisers had already been fitted out by the directions of Washington, and the coast soon swarmed with the privateers of New England. Many captures were made, and very important supplies of ammunition were thus obtained. The cruisers of Massachusetts were very successful; and the enemy, who had not been under any apprehension of attacks, smarted severely under these first essays of colonial maritime warfare.

Captain Manly was remarkable fortunate. He made many very valuable captures of vessels loaded with military stores, among which was a large ship, having on board arms and ammunition, with a considerable assortment of such working tools, utensils, and machines, as were most needed in the American camp.

These captures, and others, increased the distress of the British troops very much.

Mr. Tryon, who was very popular in the province of New-York, and who had recently been recalled from his government of North Carolina, and appointed governor, arrived. This step had been taken by the English cabinet, under an expectation that he would be able to calm the disturbances, and detach the colony from the confederacy. He, on his arrival, exerted all his influence, and this was seconded in no small degree by the Asia, man-of-war, whose guns commanded the city. Considerable disaffection soon began to manifest itself, and it was not without some difficulty that he was compelled to take refuge on board of a ship then in the harbour.

The temper shown by the royalists in the colony of New-

York, excited fears respecting the Highlands on the Hudson, a post at that time of vital importance. The convention, which was then in session, submitted to Congress a plan for their occupation by a military force. This plan was warmly seconded by Congress, who recommended that works should be immediately constructed. Two regiments were directed to be levied in New-Jersey, on the continental establishment, to serve for one year, and a detachment was ordered to the Hudson.

But the subject, which next to the supply of arms and ammunition, most interested the Congress, was the re-enlistment of the army at Boston.

Their early attention to this very interesting object had been most earnestly solicited by Washington. A committee had been appointed to repair to the camp at Cambridge, to consult with him, and with the chief magistrates of New England, on the most effectual method of continuing, supporting and regulating the army. Unfortunately, in constituting the first military establishment, an essential error was committed. The enlistments, instead of being for the continuance of the war, were only for the term of one year. Hence the men, generally, on the expiration of the period for which they had enlisted, returned home. The enthusiastic ardour which had brought such numbers into the field, after the battle of Lexington, was beginning to abate, and serious apprehensions were entertained, whether the army would be able to keep its present position. In this trying situation, Washington, conformable to the plan, sent out recruiting officers into all parts of the New England provinces. This service, however, went on very slowly. The difficulty of recruiting the army was greatly increased by the danger apprehended from the small-pox. Notwithstanding all the difficulties and discouragements under which he laboured, the army in the course of the winter was considerably augmented.

In the mean time Washington caused Plowed Hill, Cobble Hill and Lechmere's Point, to be occupied, and carried his approaches within half a-mile of the enemy's works at Bunker's Hill.

The British army, under General Howe, who, on the recall of General Gage, in October, had succeeded to the command of it, remained inactive in Boston, and was still closely blocked upon the land-side by the Americans.

1776.—In the beginning of February, the whole effective force under Washington, independent of militia, consisted of eight thousand eight hundred and fifty-three men. Of this force, nearly two thousand were without arms of any kind.

About this time General Lee marched from Connecticut to New-York, with twelve hundred men. On his arrival a committee of three, from the local government, waited on him, in order to consult with him, and the council of safety, respecting the defence of the place. At this consultation it was agreed to fortify some commanding part of the city, to be occupied by two thousand men; to erect inclosed batteries on both sides of Hellgate, so as to protect the town on that side, and secure a communication with Long Island, where it was proposed to form a camp for three thousand men, and also to make the defences of the Highlands as strong as possible, and to post one battalion in them.

General Clinton arrived about the same time from Boston, but without troops. He gave out that no hostilities were designed against the city of New-York, and that he was only on a visit to see his friend Tryon.

The fortifications for the defence of the city of New-York, were prosecuted with great vigour.

Towards the latter end of February, there were various appearances among the British troops at Boston, which denoted an intention on their part of evacuating that place.

The effective force, under Washington, about this time, was rather over fourteen thousand men, exclusive of six thousand militia, which had been lately called out. He, therefore, determined on taking more efficient measures against the enemy, and for this purpose, detached a body of his men to take possession of Dorchester heights, which command part of the harbour. This being accomplished, he seized on Nook's Hill, which he caused to be fortified. The possession of these hills,

gave the army the command of Boston harbour. Immediately after, he began a heavy bombardment and cannonade on the town, and the lines of the enemy. On the night of the fourth of March, a detachment of the American army, under General Thomas, crossed the neck from Roxbury, and took possession of the heights, and began to fortify them. When daylight disclosed their operations to the British, a considerable degree of embarrassment appeared, and an ineffectual fire was commenced on the detachment. This fire was returned on them.

The British general now perceived that it was necessary either to dislodge them or evacuate the town. He, therefore, sent Lord Percy, with three thousand men, to effect this, but the transports which carried the troops, being dispersed by a storm, the enterprise fell through. On the seventeenth day of March, the enemy evacuated the town, it being no longer tenable. The recovery of this important town was an event that gave universal joy.

We shall now return to the operations in the north. So early as the month of June, 1775, Congress passed a resolution, directing General Schuyler to repair to Ticonderoga, and take measures for securing that post and Crown Point, and for retaining the command of Lake Champlain. He was, at the same time, authorized, if he should find it practicable, to take possession of St. Johns and Montreal.

Three thousand men from New-York and New England, to be commanded under General Schuyler, by Brigadiers Montgomery and Wooster, were designed for this expedition. These troops assembled at Ticonderoga, where batteaux were constructed for their transportation.

General Schuyler repaired to that place, and assumed the command. Soon after his arrival, Congress instructed him to invade the province without delay.

Before the preparations were complete, the impatience expressed by some friends in Canada, seemed to render an immediate movement advisable. General Schuyler had returned to Albany to hold a convention with the Indians, who had manifested some hostile dispositions, when he received a communi-

cation from General Montgomery. Orders were immediately given to embark with the troops, and General Schuyler having directed the expected reinforcements, to rendezvous at the Isle Aux Noix, twelve miles south of St. Johns, joined him before he reached that place.

The American force, consisting of one thousand men, without artillery, embarked on the Sorel, on the sixth of September, and proceeding towards St. Johns, debarked within a mile and a-half of that place, in a swamp, from whence they marched towards the fort, for the purpose of reconnoitering its situation. On their march they were suddenly attacked by a body of Indians, whom they dispersed; after which they threw up a small intrenchment and encamped for the night. The intelligence received at this place, determined the general to return to the Isle Aux Noix, and there await the arrival of the remaining troops, and some artillery, which he expected.

The Isle Aux Noix lies in the Sorel, just below its issue out of Lake Champlain—and to prevent the armed vessels at St. Johns from entering the latter, a boom was drawn across the channel.

In consequence of the indisposition of General Schuyler the command now devolved on Montgomery.

A Mr. Livingston, residing on the Sorel, below Chamblee, who was strongly attached to the American cause, pressed so earnestly for a detachment from the army, to cut off the communication between St. Johns and La Prairie, that a party was ordered out for that service. But the troops being seized with one of those panics to which new levies are so liable, fled back to the camp.

Livingston, in the mean time, calculating on the aid for which he had applied, had collected about three hundred Canadian volunteers, and grew very apprehensive of being left to the whole force of the enemy.

Montgomery, on the twenty-fifth day of September, embarked with two thousand men and some pieces of cannon, and proceeded to invest St. Johns. This place was garrisoned by about eight hundred men, and was well provided with artillery

and military stores. The army under Montgomery, as well as the other armies of the colonies, was illy supplied with powder. The reduction of Chamblee, a small fort farther down the Sorel, in which was found one hundred and twenty barrels of powder, afforded a temporary relief. This place was captured by three hundred and fifty Americans and Canadians, commanded by Majors Brown and Livingston.

Montgomery pressed the siege of St. Johns, the garrison of which made a resolute defence under an expectation of relief.

Colonel M·Clean raised a regiment of Highlanders in the province of Canada, and encamped near the mouth of the Sorel, where he was joined by several hundred Canadians. General Carlton, the governor of Canada, was at Montreal, where he had assembled about one thousand men, mostly Canadians. Among these were some regulars and volunteers, and several British officers. At the head of these he hoped to effect a junction with M'Clean, after which he designed to march with his whole force against Montgomery, and endeavour to compel him to raise the siege; but, on attempting to cross over from Montreal, he was totally defeated at Longue Isle, by a detachment of Americans under Colonel Warner. Another detachment of Americans advanced on M·Clean, and compelled him to retreat in the direction of Quebec.

On receipt of this intelligence, Montgomery sent one of the prisoners into the fort with a letter to Major Preston, the commandant, requiring him to surrender. All hopes of relief having now vanished, the garrison capitulated.

After the reduction of St. Johns, Montgomery proceeded against Montreal. This place, which was not in a condition to resist, capitulated on the thirteenth of November. Governor Carlton retired to his flotilla. While preparations were making to attack the flotilla, Carlton made his escape in a dark night, in a boat, down the river. The flotilla soon after surrendered to Colonel Easton.

At Montreal many of his soldiers left him, their time of service having expired; and Montgomery had the extreme mortification to find that there would be little over three hundred

men to accompany him to Quebec, after deducting the garrisons of St. Johns, Chamblee, and Montreal.

Washington, in August, had projected an expedition against Quebec. The command of the troops destined for this important object was committed to Colonel Arnold. The number of men amounted to one thousand. Colonel Burr, late Vice-President of the United States, accompanied Arnold. They were to proceed from the camp before Boston to Kennebeck river, and thence up that river to the mountains, which they were to cross, and then advance down the river Chaudiere to Quebec. But the difficulties to be surmounted were far greater than had been anticipated. The country had not been sufficiently explored, and it opposed obstacles to the march, which only perseverance like that of Arnold and his intrepid followers, could have vanquished. Colonel Enos, who commanded the rear division, consisting of one-third of the detachment, deserted from Dead river, a branch of Kennebeck, with his men; and though his appearance at first excited the greatest indignation in the army, yet on being arrested, he was acquitted by a court-martial, on the ground that provisions could not be had on the route to preserve the men from starvation.

Arnold, who at the head of the two first divisions still prosecuted his march, was thirty-two days traversing the wilderness, without seeing a single house or human being. The troops were under the necessity of hauling their batteaux up rapid streams; of taking them on their shoulders, with their provisions, across carrying places; and of traversing and frequently repassing, for the purpose of bringing their baggage, deep morasses, thick woods, and high mountains. These impediments, notwithstanding the wonderful exertions of his men, so protracted his march, that he did not reach the settlements on the Chaudiere before the third of November, eighteen days later than he had expected.

After so arduous a march, of which history scarcely furnishes a parallel, Arnold halted no longer than to allow his men a short repose, and then proceeding down the Chaudiere, he arrived at Point Levi, opposite Quebec, on the 9th of November.

The city was almost without a garrison, and the inhabitants were in the utmost consternation on beholding these men emerge from the woods.

Could Arnold have immediately passed the St. Lawrence, it is believed that he might have entered the city without opposition; but a very high wind, and the want of boats, prevented him.

In the mean time, the wind for several nights continued so high as to render the passage of the river in canoes, collected from the people of the country and found on the southern bank, too hazardous to be attempted; and it was only in the night that he could hope to cross, because a frigate had anchored opposite the town, and three other armed vessels were distributed in stations, so as to guard the passage of the river for some distance. Whilst thus detained, Colonel M'Clean entered the city with his regiment of Highlanders.

At length the wind abated, and Arnold leaving behind him one hundred and fifty men to make ladders, determined to attempt a passage. Eluding the armed vessels, he, with infinite difficulty and danger, crossed over in the night, and landed the van of his little army about a mile and a-half above the city. The passage of the rugged cliffs, which continue on the left bank of the St. Lawrence, for some distance above Quebec, being at this place absolutely impracticable, he marched down on the shore to Wolfe's Cove, and ascending the precipice with his men, formed on the heights near the plain of Abraham. Lieutenants Humphries and Heath, who had been detached towards the town for the purpose of reconnoitering, soon reported that the centinals were at their posts.

Though disappointed in the expectation of surprising Quebec, Arnold did not immediately relinguish the hope of obtaining possession of that important place. Not superior to the enemy in numbers, and without one peice of cannon or other implements for a seige, he was incapable of doing any thing; but he flattered himself that a defection in the garrison might yet put the place into his hands. With this view he paraded on the heights for some days, and sent two flags to summon it to surrender. But the presence of Colonel M'Clean, an ex-

perienced and vigilent officer, and who was indefatigable in making arrangments for the defence of the town, restrained those measures which the fears of the inhabitants dictated. Deeming it unsafe to admit of any communication with the assailants, he refused to receive the flag, and fired on the officer who bore it. Fears for the vast property contained in the town, soon united the disaffected, and they were, at their own request, embodied and armed. The sailors too, were landed and placed at the batteries, and by these means the garrison had become more numerous than the Americans.

Arnold, whose numbers, after collecting those he had left on the south side of the river, did not exceed seven hundred men, was in no condition to hazard a battle. His ammunition was also very short. In this critical situation, he was informed that two hundred men, who had escaped from Montreal, were descending the river; and that M'Clean intended making a sortie at the head of the garrison. Under these circumstances, he deemed it most prudent to retire to Point Aux Trembles, twenty miles above Quebec, and there await the arrival of Montgomery.

General Montgomery having secured Montreal, proceeded at the head of three hundred men, to join Colonel Arnold, at Point Aux Trembles, after which they marched to Quebec. But before their arrival, Gov. Carlton had entered the town, and was making every preparation for a vigorous defence. The garrison now consisted of about fifteen hundred men.—Montgomery's effective force did not exceed eight hundred men. On his first appearance before the town, he addressed a letter to Carlton and demanded a surrender. The determination to hold no communication with the Americans was still persevered in, and the flag was fired on.

The situation of Montgemery was extremely hazardous. The severe cold had set in, and the troops were badly clothed and badly housed. He determined, however, to lay seige to the place. In a few days he opened a six gun battery, within seven hundred yards of the walls; but his artillery was too light to make a breach.

Montgomery finding it impracticable to take the place by a seige, determined to storm it. In pursuance of this determination, he divided his little army into four parts; two of these, consisting of Canadians, under Majors Livingston and Brown, were to distract the attention of the garrison, by making two feints against the upper town at St. John's and Cape Diamond; the other two, the one led by Montgomery and the other by Arnold, were to make real attacks on opposite sides of the lower town.

Between four and five in the morning of December 31st, 1775, the signal was given, and the several divisions moved to the assault under a violent storm of snow. The plan was so well concerted, that from the side of the river St. Lawrence, along the fortified front round to the basin, every part seemed equally threatened. Montgomery, at the head of the New-York troops, advanced along the St. Lawrence, by the way of Aunce de Mere, under Cape Diamond. The first barrier to be surmounted on this side was at the Pot Ash. It was defended by a battery, in which were mounted a few pieces of cannon, about two hundred yards in front of which was a block-house and picket. The guard placed at the block-house being chiefly Canadians, fired and fled to the barrier. The difficulties of the route rendered it impossible for Montgomery to avail himself of the first impression. Cape Diamond, around which he was to make his way, presents a precipice, the base of which is laved by the river, where large piles of ice had been raised, so as to render the way very difficult. The Americans pressed forward till they reached the block-house and picket. Here he had to halt a few minutes, in order to collect his men. Having reassembled about two hundred, he advanced at their head to force the barrier. One or two persons had now ventured to return to the battery; and seizing a slow match, discharged a cannon when the American front was within forty yards. The General, with Captains M‘Pherson and Cheesman, the first of whom was his aid, together with his orderly sergeant, and a private, were killed. Colonel Campbell, on whom the command now devolved, retreated precipitately from the city, leav-

ing the garrison at liberty to turn their whole force against Arnold.

The party commanded by Arnold advanced along the street of St. Roques, towards the St des Matelots. He led the advance, followed by Captain Lamb. At the Saint des Matelots the enemy had constructed their first barrier, and had mounted two cannons. The path had been rendered very narrow by large masses of ice thrown up on the side of Charles river, and by the works erected by the enemy on the other. In this order Arnold marched along the St. Charles against the battery. The alarm was immediately given, and the fire on his flank commenced. As he approached the barrier he received a musket ball in the leg, which shattered the bone, and he was carried off the field. Captain Morgan, at the head of his riflemen, rushed forward and carried the battery. He then formed his men, and a few others, and entered the town. Here they were joined by Colonel Greene and Majors Bigelow and Meigs, with portions of companies, constituting about two hundred men.

As the dawn of day began, they attempted to scale the second barrier, but in consequence of a tremendous fire from the enemy, they were compelled to desist. They then endeavoured to retreat, but a portion of the garrison, consisting of two hundred men, having made a sortie, and captured Captain Dearborne, and his company, who had been stationed near the palace gate, prevented them. Under these circumstances they were forced to surrender.

In this bold and unsuccessful attack on Quebec, the Americans lost four hundred men, of whom sixty were killed. The whole of Arnold's division, with the exception of some officers who attended him to the hospital, fell into the hands of the enemy. According to the account of Carleton, the enemy's loss was only eighteen killed and wounded. Captain Hendricks, of the Pennsylvania riflemen, and Lieutenant Humphries, of Morgan's company, and Lieutenant Cooper, of Connecticut, were among the slain.

Richard Montgomery, whose short but brilliant career was now finished, was a native of Ireland, and had served with re-

putation in the late war. After its conclusion, he settled in the province of New-York, where he married an American lady, and took a very decided part with the colonies in their contest with Great Britain. At the head of a small body of undisciplined troops, in little more than two months he had made himself master of Canada, from the lakes to Quebec.

The American army, after this disaster, was no longer in a situation to continue the siege. At first, they were so alarmed, that about one hundred set out for Montreal. With difficulty Arnold retained the others; but they broke up their camp, and retired about three miles from the city; where, though very inferior to the garrison, they kept it in a state of blockade, and in the course of the winter reduced it to great distress.

Governor Carleton, who acquired and deserved great reputation by the fortitude discovered in defending Quebec, and who only wished to preserve the place until the reinforcements he expected in the spring should arrive, and enable him to act offensively, very prudently determined not to hazard an attack; and Arnold, on whom the command now devolved, remained undisturbed, except by occasional sorties made by small parties, which always retreated precipitately under their guns as soon as he advanced. Although severely wounded, he retained his courage and activity, and though deserted by those whose time of service had expired, so as to be reduced at one time to about five hundred effective men, and no longer supported by the Canadians, he discovered no disposition to sink under adverse fortune.

See Ramsey's History of the Revolution, Williams' History of Vermont, and Marshall's Life of Washington.

CHAPTER V.

Congress evince a determination to continue the war in Canada—Troops levied to reinforce the army in Canada—General Arnold resumes the investment of Quebec—General Thomas succeeds Arnold—General Carleton receives reinforcements—Thomas raises the siege of Quebec, and retires to Three Rivers—Carleton leaves Quebec with the British army, and pursues the Americans—The Americans retire from Three Rivers to the Sorel—Upon the death of General Thomas the command devolves on General Sullivan—The Americans fall back on the Isle Aux Noix, and soon after upon Crown Point—Proceedings in the southern states—The British make an attack on Charleston in South Carolina, and are repulsed—Washington repairs to New-York—Preparations made to oppose the enemy, in case of their attempting any thing against that place—Declaration of Independence—General Howe and Admiral Howe arrive at Sandy Hook—The British take Staten Island—Battle of Long Island—The city of New-York evacuated by Washington—Fort Washington surrenders—Battle of White Plains—Fort Lee abandoned—Washington retires across New-Jersey, after being abandoned by most of his troops, and takes post on the west side of the Delaware—He recrosses that river, and surprises the Hessians at Trenton—The enemy defeated at Princeton—The campaign closes.

January, 1776.—Congress determined to keep up in Canada nine battalions, for the ensuing campaign, including one to be raised in New-York. In pursuance of this, General Schuyler was ordered to have constructed at Ticonderoga, a number of batteaux, for the purpose of transporting the troops to Canada. To complete the nine battalions voted for this service, one from Pennsylvania and one from New-Jersey, were ordered to march forthwith to Albany; two others were to be formed of the troops

with Arnold, and the remaining number to be raised, one in Pennsylvania, and the others in New-York and New England.

February, 1776.—The service in Canada was deemed of too much importance to be intrusted to Colonel, now Brigadier Arnold, or to General Wooster, and the health of General Schuyler would not admit of his proceeding to Quebec. General Lee was therefore ordered to take command of the army. But before General Lee could enter on this service, the opposite extreme of the union was so menaced by the enemy, that the destination of that officer was changed, and he was ordered to take command in the southern department. Major-general Thomas was appointed to command in Canada.

In the hope of exciting in the province of Canada the sentiments which prevailed throughout the United Colonies, and of persuading the inhabitants to join in the confederacy. Dr. Franklin, Mr. Chase, and Mr. Carrol were deputed as commissioners, to treat on this subject.

In the mean time, Arnold kept up the blockade of Quebec. In March reinforcements arrived, so that his army amounted to seventeen hundred men, but it was very inefficient. The Canadians became disaffected, and little pains were taken to conciliate them.

General Carleton, who was no stranger to the revolution which was taking place in the minds of the Canadians, entertained the hope of raising the siege by their assistance. A detachment of about sixty men, from the garrison, landed twelve leagues below the town on the south side of the river, and were joined by about two hundred and fifty Canadians, under the command of a Mr. Beaujieu, seized a provision convoy designed for the American camp. They were rapidly increasing, when they were suddenly attacked by a detachment sent by Arnold, of about eight hundred men, under Major Dubois, who dispersed them.

General Arnold recommenced active operations in order to renew the siege. He caused batteries to be erected, but on the first day of April, as he was about opening them, General Wooster arrived from Montreal, and took the command. The

next day he caused them to be opened, but without much effect.

The day after the arrival of Wooster, Arnold's horse fell with him, and so bruised his leg as to confine him for some time. Supposing himself to be neglected, he obtained leave of absence and assumed the command at Montreal.

Some fire ships had been prepared both at Orleans and Point Aux Trembles, to be used against the enemy's vessels in the harbour, so soon as the ice would permit. The attempt was afterwards made, but proved abortive, owing to the ignorance of the sailors.

About the middle of April, a considerable part of the army left the service, their time having expired.

General Thomas arrived on the first of May; the whole force only amounted to one thousand nine hundred men.

In consequence of this force being divided, and distributed at different posts, which it was necessary to maintain, he found it impossible to assemble at a single point over three hundred men. There were but one hundred and fifty barrels of powder and six days provisions, nor could supplies be had from the Canadians. The river too was beginning to open below, and no doubts were entertained but the enemy would receive relief.—Amidst these circumstances, the hope of taking Quebec appeared to General Thomas utterly impossible, and a longer continuance before the town, dangerous. Thus circumstanced, he called a council on the fifth of May, in which it was unanimously determined to abandon the siege, and retire up the river to Three River Point, or some other intermediate place, and there make a stand.

On the next day, five British ships arrived with part of the intended supplies and reinforcements. At one o'clock on the same day, General Carlton made a sortie at the head of one thousand men. General Thomas resolved not to hazard an action, and therefore ordered a retreat. This was done with so much precipitation, that many of the sick, with all the military stores, fell into the hands of the enemy. Two tons of powder and

five hundred stand of arms, just sent by General Schuyler, also fell into their hands.

Much to the honour of General Carlton, he treated the sick, wounded, and other prisoners that fell into his hands, with great kindness, gentleness and humanity.

The American army continued to retreat to de Chambeau, where, on the seventh, another council was called, in which it was agreed, that they should retire to the mouth of the Sorel. By this time the ships of the enemy had ascended as far up the river as Jacques Cartier, only three leagues from where the army then was. General Thomas, after removing his sick, it seems, determined to continue in his present position some longer. He was induced to do this in consequence of information which he received, of large reinforcements being now on their way to join him. But the enemy advancing on him soon after, he was obliged to resume his retreat to the Sorel, where he shortly after died of the small-pox.

Whilst the power of the Americans in Canada was thus visably declining, and their troops forced to retire from the vicinity of Quebec by superior numbers, a calamity entirely unlooked for befel them, in a different quarter of that province.

As the English were still in possession of the posts on the upper St. Lawrence and on the lakes, it became necessary to station a body of troops above Montreal in order to prevent an attack from that quarter. A point of land called the Cedars, about forty miles above Montreal, was selected. This point projects deep into the St. Lawrence, and can only be approached on one side. To this place General Arnold, who commanded at Montreal, detached three hundred and ninety men, with two field pieces, under Colonel Bedel, with directions to construct works and fortify the position. An expedition against this post was planned by a Captain Forster, who commanded at Oswegatchie, at the mouth of the river of that name. He set out on this expedition with one company of regulars and some Indians, and having prevailed on the Caughnewagas, who inhabited some part of the intermediate country, to join

him, he appeared before the works of the Americans with four or five hundred men. Two days before his appearance, Colonel Bedel had received information of his approach, and having left the fort to be commanded by Major Butterfield, had proceeded down the river to Montreal to solicit aid. Arnold immediately sent Major Sherburne to the Cedars, with one hundred men, while he made dispositions to go in person with a much greater force.

Captain Forster, on his first appearance, sent in a flag, requiring a surrender, and Major Butterfield proposed to capitulate, and give up the place, provided he might be allowed to withdraw with his troops and baggage to Montreal. These terms were sternly refused, and the enemy being without cannon, made an attack with musketry. By this mode of attack no serious impression was made, and in the course of two days only one man was wounded. Yet, unaccountable as it may appear, Major Butterfield, intimidated by the threat, that if any Indians should be killed during the siege, it would be out of the power of Captain Forster to restrain them from massacreing every individual of the garrison, consented to surrender, by which he and his whole party were made prisoners of war.

The next day Major Sherburne approached, without having obtained any information of Butterfield's ignominious surrender. Within four miles of the Cedars, he was suddenly attacked by a body of Indians, and he, after a conflict of one hour, was compelled to surrender at discretion.

Upon intelligence of these events, General Arnold, at the head of seven hundred men, marched from Montreal, against the enemy, then at Vaudreuil, in expectation of driving them back, and recovering the prisoners. When preparing for the engagement, he received a flag, accompanied by Major Sherburne, giving him the most positive assurances, that if he attacked the enemy, it would be entirely out of the power of Captain Forster to prevent his savages from putting every American prisoner to death. Under the influence of this menace, which

would have been carried into effect, had Arnold persisted, he desisted and agreed to an exchange of prisoners.

After the death of General Thomas, the American army, at the mouth of the Sorel, was speedily augmented by the expected reinforcement, to four or five thousand men. On the fourth of June, General Sullivan arrived, and the command devolved on him.

General Sullivan, from the friendship evinced by the Canadians, imagined that great numbers of them would join the American standard, and that he should be able to recover the post of de Chambeau. But before this could be done, it was necessary to dislodge the enemy from the post which they occupied at Three Rivers.

Carleton, it will be seen, had not been able to follow the Americans after they had raised the siege of Quebec, and retired up the St. Lawrence. Towards the latter end of May, however, he was joined by large reinforcements, and found himself at the head of thirteen thousand men. He immediately prepared to commence offensive operations. The general rendezvous of his forces was at Three Rivers, a place situated nearly midway between Quebec and Montreal. His army was greatly divided. General Frazer had reached this place with a considerable body. General Nesbit, with another body on board of transports lay near them, while General Carleton, with the main body, accompanied by the Generals Burgoyne, Philips and Reidesel, was on his way from Quebec.

General Thompson, who had commanded the army after the illness of General Thomas, understanding that the party at Three Rivers consisted only of eight hundred men, under Colonel M'Clean, had detached Colonel St. Clair, with about seven hundred men, to attack his camp. This officer proceeded to Nicolet, where finding himself not strong enough to make the attack, encamped until he should receive succors or additional instructions. At this time, General Sullivan came up, and learning that the enemy were very weak, ordered General Thompson to join St. Clair, with fourteen hundred men, and

then march to Three Rivers, and attack the enemy, provided there was a prospect of success.

General Thompson, after having joined Colonel St. Clair, imagining himself strong enough to drive the enemy from that place, proceeded down the St. Lawrence in boats by night, and landed a little after daylight, which was later than he had intended. He was discovered at the landing, and an alarm was given. His troops were fired on by the ships in the river, to avoid which, he endeavoured to lead them through what appeared to be a point of woods, but, was in reality, a deep morass, three miles in extent. This occasioned considerable delay, and some confusion among his men. This gave General Frazer an opportunity to prepare to meet them, while General Nesbit, fell on their rear, and cut off their return to their boats. Having passed the morass, Thompson attacked the forces under Frazer, but was repulsed and forced to retreat. Thompson and Colonel Irwin, second in command, with about two hundred men, were made prisoners, and from twenty to thirty were killed. Colonel St. Clair, with great difficulty, effected a retreat with about eighteen hundred men.

The American army in Canada, about the middle of June, amounted to eight thousand men, but of these not above one-half were fit for duty. Considerable insubordination prevailed, and the troops were much dispirited by their late disasters. Under all these circumstances, General Sullivan formed the rash determination of defending the post at Sorel; and was only induced by the unanimous opinion of his officers to abandon it a few hours before the arrival of the enemy. He retreated up the Sorel, first to Chamblee, then to St. Johns, and lastly to the Isle Aux Noix, where he resolved to remain till he should receive orders to retreat. In his retreat from the post at Sorel, he was joined by General Arnold from Montreal.

The selection of the Isle Aux Noix by General Sullivan, was extremely injudicious, in consequence of its low, wet and unhealthy situation. The troops soon after compelled him to remove to the Isle Lamotte, where he received orders to embark and return to Crown Point.

The British army, during this whole retreat, followed close in rear, and took possession of the different posts the Americans had evacuated.

As the Americans had the command of the lake, Carleton deemed it advisable to halt at St. Johns till he could build and equip a fleet sufficiently strong to give him the ascendency.

Meanwhile General Gates was ordered to take the command. Six thousand militia were detached by New-York and New England, to reinforce the army.

July, 1776—Whilst the war was going on in the north, the southern colonies were not exempted. In Virginia, Lord Dunmore, the governor, assembled a considerable force, consisting of the disaffected and negroes, and commenced a predatory warfare. For some time he was successful, in consequence of a naval force which he had.

He made an attempt to burn Hampton, but was repulsed. His lordship then proclaimed martial law. A body of militia collected to oppose him, were dispersed, and he flattered himself that he should soon be able to subjugate the lower country.

Intelligence of these transactions being received at Williamsburgh, a regiment of continentals, and two hundred minute-men, were ordered down under the command of Colonel Woodford. Hearing of their approach, Lord Dunmore took a position on the north side of Elizabeth river, at the Great Bridge, where it was necessary for the Americans to pass in order to reach Norfolk, where his lordship had his head-quarters. Here he erected a small fort on a piece of ground surrounded by a marsh, and only accessible by a causeway. The Americans, on arriving in its vicinity, took post within cannon shot at the south end of the causeway, where they constructed a breastwork.

Both parties remained inactive for some days. Lord Dunmore, who entertained the same contempt for the Americans that the rest of his countrymen did, ordered Captain Fordyce, the commanding officer at the Great Bridge, to storm the works erected by Colonel Woodford. About sunrise this officer, with

an inferior force, advanced on the causeway to the breast-work, and endeavoured to carry it, but he was repulsed and lost his life.

The next night the fort was abandoned, and the Americans proceeded to Norfolk, when Lord Dunmore found it necessary to take refuge on board his vessels.

Irritated by the firing of some American soldiers into his vessels, which then lay in the harbour, and other causes, his lordship caused the town to be set on fire, by which about four-fifths were destroyed. Soon after this, Colonel Howe, who commanded at this place, was directed by the convention to burn the residue, which he did, and then abandoned it. Thus was destroyed the largest and most opulent town in Virginia.

After the burning of Norfolk, Lord Dunmore changed his position, and carried on his predatory warfare along the rivers, creeks, and bays in the lower country, robbing and firing houses. About this time, the military force of Virginia was augmented to nine regiments.

In North Carolina, Governor Martin, though obliged to take refuge on board a ship of war in Cape Fear river, still indulged the hope of being able to reduce the colony.

A body of men on the frontiers, styling themselves regulators, who were enemies to all government, had attempted by arms. before the existing war, to stop the administration of justice, and having failed, they had now become as hostile to the colonial as they had before been to the royal government.

There were also in the province a large number of Highlanders from Scotland, who adhered to the royal cause. From the union of these parties, who were bold and active, Governor Martin entertained an opinion that he should be able, with some aid from abroad, to reduce the colony. Sir Henry Clinton had orders to join him with a party. In addition to this, Lord Cornwallis was expected in South Carolina, with seven regiments. He sent several commissions to the leaders of the Highlanders, with directions to levy some regiments. He appointed a Mr. M'Donald, their chief, a general. About the middle of February, M'Donald assembled fifteen hundred men at Cross Creek, where he erected the royal standard.

Upon the first advice, General Moore marched at the head of a continental regiment and some militia, and took post at Rock Fish bridge, where he intrenched himself. General M'Donald, relying on superior numbers, advanced against him. On his arrival, he sent a letter to him, requiring him to join the King's standard by the next day, under severe penalties.

General Moore, knowing that the provincial forces were marching from all quarters to join him, protracted the negotiation. When at length the forces arrived, Moore gave him, for answer, that he should not accede, and ordered him to surrender.

M'Donald, perceiving the danger, suddenly decamped, and endeavoured to form a junction with Governor Martin, Lord Campbell, and Sir Henry Clinton, but being closely pursued by the Americans, he was forced to an engagement, in which he was totally defeated, and his men dispersed.

This victory was of eminent service to the American cause in North Carolina, the royal party being entirely destroyed.

In the beginning of June, the British fleet appeared before Charleston, and came to anchor. President Rutledge immediately dispatched couriers to call in the militia of the colony.

The British experienced some difficulties in crossing the bar. This object being at length accomplished, operations were commenced against a fort on Sullivan's Island.

During the interval between crossing the bar and attacking this fort, General Lee arrived, with a considerable body of continental troops, which, together with the militia constituted a force of between five and six thousand men.

After examining the post, General Lee was disinclined to hazard his army, by engaging it deeply in the defence of either the fort or town; but in consequence of the great solicitude of the inhabitants, he was induced to sacrifice his own judgment.

The works of defence were of great extent. Forts Johnson and Moultrie were defended by two regiments, under the command of Colonels Gadsden and Moultrie; Colonel Thompson, with eight hundred men, was stationed on the north part of

Sullivan's Island, where some works had been constructed; and the remaining forces were arranged on Hadrell's Point, and along the bay, in front of the town.

On the twenty-eighth of June, the British fleet attempted to pass Fort Moultrie, and enter the harbour, but was repulsed with great loss. Several of their ships were so much damaged, that they had to abandon them, after having set them on fire.

A few days afterwards the British fleet sailed for New-York.

Washington, after the evacuation of Boston, having left a small detachment at that place, under General Ward, hastened to New-York, where the main body of the American army was then assembling.

The difficulty which had been experienced in expelling the enemy from Boston, induced him to adopt every measure in his power to prevent them from establishing themselves in New-York. For this purpose the city, and all the avenues leading to it, were fortified in the best manner the time and means would allow.

The army in New-York was to be strengthened by requisitions of militia. A resolution was accordingly passed, to augment it with thirteen thousand men, to be drawn from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-York, and New-Jersey. Whilst the main army was engaged in the fortifications in and about New-York, where it was apprehended the enemy might make an attack, Congress resolved to form, in the middle states, a camp, to be composed of ten thousand men, taken from the militia of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. The militia composing this camp, and those detached to augment and strengthen the army at New-York, were to serve to the first of December.

Hitherto, the war had been carried on with the avowed wish of obtaining a redress of grievances. The utmost horror at the idea of attempting independence had been expressed, and the most anxious desire of establishing, on its ancient principles, the union which had so long subsisted between the two countries, was openly declared. But, however sincere the wish to retain a political connexion with Great Britain might have been at the commencement of the conflict, the operation on that sen-

timent was infallible. To profess allegiance and respect for a sovereign, who was endeavouring by force of arms to wrest from them all that rendered life valuable; whilst every possible effort was making by arms to repel the attempt; began to be felt as an absurdity, and to maintain such a system was impossible. When the appeal was first made to arms, and the battle of Lexington was fought, a great majority of those who guided the councils and led the battalions of America, wished only for a repeal of the obnoxious acts of Parliament, and would have been unwilling to venture upon self-government. Having imbibed from education, strong prejudices in favour of the British nation, and of the British constitution, they wished only to enjoy its substantial benefits. These, however, wore away rapidly, and were succeeded by republican principles and wishes for independence. Many essays appeared in the papers calculated to extend these opinions; and a pamphlet, under the signature of common sense, written by Thomas Paine, an Englishman, who had lately come over to America, had particular influence. It was universally read, and among those who were zealous in the war, obtained every where friends to the doctrine of independence. New strength was every day added to the opinion, that a reconciliation with Great Britain had become impossible; that mutual confidence could never be restored; that reciprocal jealousy, suspicion and hate would take and hold the place of that affection which could alone render such a connexion happy and beneficial; that even the commercial dependence of America upon Britain was greatly injurious to the former, and that incalculable benefits must be derived from opening to themselves the markets of the world; that to be governed by a nation or sovereign, distant from them three thousand miles, unacquainted with and unmindful of their interests, would, even if reinstated in their former situation, occasion infinite injury; and in the present state of America, was an evil too great to be voluntarily borne. But victory alone could restore them to that situation, and victory would give them independence.

It was also urged, and with great reason, that foreign aid

could more certainly be obtained, if the effect of that aid would be the dismemberment of the British empire.

American independence became the more general theme of conversation; and more and more the general wish. This sentiment was increased, by learning that they were declared to be in a state of rebellion; that foreign mercenaries were to be employed against them; and that the tommahawk and scalping knife were to be used.

The measures of Congress took their complexion from the temper of the people. General letters of marque and reprisal were granted, and the American ports were opened to all nations except the British.

At length a measure was adopted, which was considered by Congress, and by America in general, as decisive of the question of independence. Mr. John Adams, since President of the United States, Mr. Rutledge and Mr. Richard Henry Lee were appointed a committee to prepare a preamble to the resolution. This was on the fifteenth of May, 1776. The preamble drawn up by these gentlemen, is in the words following.

"Whereas his Britannic Majesty, in conjunction with the lords and commons of Great Britain, has, by a late act of Parliament, excluded the inhabitants of these United Colonies from the protection of his crown; and whereas, no answer whatever to the humble petitions of the colonies for the redress of grievances and reconciliation of Great Britain, has been, or is likely to be given; but the whole force of that kingdom, aided by foreign mercenaries, is to be exerted for the destruction of the good people of these colonies; and whereas, it appears absolutely irreconcileable to reason and good conscience, for the people of these colonies now to take the oaths and affirmations necessary for the support of any government under the crown of Great Britain; and it is necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority under the said crown, should be totally suppressed; and all the powers of government exerted under the authority of the people of the colonies, for the preservation of internal peace, virtue and good order, as well as for the defence of their lives, liberties and properties, against the hostile

invasions and cruel depredations of their enemies; therefore resolved, that it be recommended to the respective assemblies and conventions of the United Colonies, where no government sufficient for the exigencies of their affairs, hath been already established, to adopt such government as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general."

The provincial assemblies and conventions acted on this recommendation, and governments were generally established.

The solid foundations for popular governments were now established. The materials in their possession, as well as their habits of thinking, were adapted only to governments in all respects representative, and such governments were every where adopted. In general, the executive, legislative and judicial departments were rendered distinct with the intent of making them independent of each other in a very considerable degree. The legislature was divided into two branches, and all persons holding offices of profit or trust excluded from it. The executive too was constituted by election, and a strong jealousy of its powers was every where manifested. The judges received their appointments from the legislature or executive, and in most instances held their offices during good behaviour.

These leading principles formed the common basis of the American republics. There were, however, some exceptions to them. In some of the states the legislature consisted of a single branch.

Various too were the qualifications required to confer the privilege of an elector, or of being elected. In constructing the executive too, great varieties appeared. In some instances the governor was elected, and was eligible for a longer, and in others, for a shorter term—in some states he was invested with a negative on the laws, which in others was refused him, and with power to make appointments, which more generally was exercised by the legislature. In some instances he acted according to his own judgment, and in others, was divested of

all responsibility, by being placed under the absolute control of an exective council.

In general, however, the ancient institutions were preserved so far as was compatible with the abolition of regal authority.

The provincial assemblies, under the influence of Congress, took up the question of independence; and in some instances authorized their representatives in the national council to enter into alliances. Measures were taken to ascertain the sense of the people respecting it, which was expressed in instructions to their representatives in the state assemblies.

The public opinion having manifested itself in favour of independence, the great and decisive step was determined on, and the following resolution was moved by Richard Henry Lee, seconded by John Adams, afterwards President of the United States: "resolved that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; and that all political connexion between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

This resolution was made on the seventh day of June, 1776.

The resolution was referred to a committee of the whole Congress, where it was daily debated. All the States, except Pennsylvania and Maryland, had expressed their approbation of the measure, and no doubt remained of its adoption; but it was deemed prudent to postpone a decision on it until those states should acquiese, so as to render its adoption unanimous. At length, instructions were received, on the twenty-eighth day of June, from the conventions of those states to assent.

The resolution was on the second day of July, unanimously agreed to, and the declaration, which had been already prepared by a committee, was taken into consideration, and after some amendments, received the sanction of Congress on the fourth of the same month. The committee consisted of Mr. John Adams, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Sherman and Mr. R. R. Livingston.

Here follows the declaration.—" When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve

the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal stations to which the laws of nature, and of nature's God, entitle them—a decent respect to the opinions of mankind, requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation."

" We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future safety. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter ther former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain, is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

" He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

" He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation

till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right, inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

"He has called together legislative bodies, at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatigueing them into a compliance with his measures.

"He has dissolved representative houses, repeatedly for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions of the rights of the people.

"He has refused, for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise, the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

"He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose, obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others, to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

"He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

"He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

"He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harrass our people, and eat out their subsistence.

"He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

"He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior of the civil power.

"He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction,

foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.

"For quartering large bodies of troops among us.

"For protecting them by a mock trial from punishment, for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states.

"For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world.

"For imposing taxes on us without our consent.

"For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury.

"For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences.

"For abolishing the free system of English laws, in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example, and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies.

"For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally, the forms of our governments.

"For suspending our legislatures and declaring himself invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

"He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

"He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

"He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercinaries, to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already began, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

"He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their countrymen, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

"He has excited domestic insurrections among us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the mer-

ciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is, an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

"In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

"Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature, to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war, in peace friends.

"We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."

This declaration was immediately communicated to the ar-

onies, where it was received with enthusiasm. It was also proclaimed throughout the United States, and gave to the people very general joy.

The English, on the accession of King William and Queen Mary, in 1688, published a paper similar to the preceding declaration, called the Bill of Rights. The Dutch had, previous to that time, published a manifesto. Our declaration of independence is similar to that of the English, as the latter is of the Dutch. The instrument is an admirable paper, and was well calculated for the times.

On evacuating Boston, General Howe had retired to Halifax in Nova Scotia. But it seems that the situation of his army was so uncomfortable in that place, and the delays in the arrival of troops and supplies were so great, that he resolved to sail to New-York, or some other place in its vicinity, and take a position where he might obtain necessaries for his army, until those should come from Europe. In pursuance of this resolution he left Halifax, and arrived off Sandy Hook, with the first division of his fleet. The rear division soon followed, and having passed the Narrows, between Long Island and Staten Island, landed the troops on the latter island, where the Americans had at that time but a very small force. Here General Howe determined to wait till the expected reinforcements from England should come.

From the conduct of Howe it was very evident that his object was to seize the city of New-York. He was invited to do this, not only by the facility with which it could be taken and retained, but by the superior advantages it offered in the prosecution of the war. He very well knew that if he could take New-York, that Long Island would fall into his hands as a matter of course. From this place it would be optional with him to carry the war into New England on the one side, and into New-Jersey on the other, or if he chose, into the interior of the state of New-York.

On the twelfth of July, Lord Howe, the brother of the General, arrived with a part of the reinforcements, and landed them

on Staten Island. He was commissioned to treat with the Americans respecting an accommodation.

Notwithstanding the declaration of independence had now been made, Lord Howe determined, while the troops were arriving, to try the influence of the powers for pacification which had been committed to him. He sent on shore, by flag, a circular letter, addressed to the late governors under the crown, inclosing a declaration, which he requested them to make public; and which announced to the people his authority to grant pardons to any number or description of persons, who, during the tumults and disasters of the times, might have deviated from their just allegiance, and who might be willing, by a speedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour; and to declare any colony, town, port, or place in the peace and under the protection of the crown, and excepted from the penal provisions of the act of Parliament, prohibiting all trade and intercourse with the colonies, &c.

These papers were transmitted by Washington to Congress, who resolved that they should be published in the several gazettes, that the people of the United States might be informed what the nature of the commissions were, and what the terms with which the court of Great Britain had sought to amuse and disarm them.

About the same time that these papers were put into circulation, Lord Howe sent, with a flag, a letter addressed to George Washington, Esquire, which he refused to receive, as it did not acknowledge the public character with which he was invested by Congress, and giving the bearer to understand, that in no other character could he have any intercourse with his lordship.

On the twentieth of July, Colonel Patterson, Adjutant-general of the British army, was sent by General Howe, with a letter directed to George Washington, &c. &c. &c., but he still declined to receive it, because it was not addressed to him in his official capacity. Some conversation then passed relative to the treatment of prisoners. The Colonel then opened the

business concerning an accommodation; but Washington refused to enter into it, in as much as he had no authority from Congress. He, however, in reply to some facts stated by Colonel Patterson, said, that so far as he could judge from what had as yet transpired, Lord Howe and General Howe were only empowered to grant pardons; that those who had committed no fault, wanted no pardon; and that the Americans were only defending their unalienable rights.

About the first of August, the British army under Howe, amounted to twenty-four thousand men, and reinforcements were daily coming in.

The American army, about the same time, rather exceeded seventeen thousand men, but of this number nearly four thousand were unfit for duty. Besides the arms were very defective, and the men not well disciplined, being mostly new levies. Serious apprehensions were entertained that it would not be able to cope with the very superior forces of the enemy.

Soon after the army was augmented by Smallwood's regiment, and by two regiments from Pennsylvania, and by large bodies of militia from New England, and the interior of New-York, to twenty-seven thousand men.

A part of this army was stationed on Long Island, under General Sullivan. The residue occupied different stations on the island of New-York, except three detachments, one on Governors island, one at Powles Hook, in New-Jersey, opposite the city of New-York, and one under General Clinton on the Sound towards New Rochelle, East and West Chester. The latter comprised a part of the New-York militia.

An attack from the enemy was daily expected; great exertions were therefore made to meet the enemy.

As the defence of Long Island was intimately connected with that of New-York, a brigade was posted at Brooklyn, opposite the city of New-York, and works of defence thrown up.

The movements of the enemy soon indicated an intention to make their first attack on Long Island, in consequence of which, General Sullivan was reinforced. Early in the morn-

ing of the twenty-second of August, the greater part of the British army, with Colonel Donop's corps of chasseurs and Hessian grenadiers, with forty pieces of cannon, landed without opposition under cover of the guns of the fleet, near Utrecht and Gravesend, not far from the Narrows, dividing Staten and Long Islands. They were commanded by Lieutenant-general Clinton. Colonel Hand, who guarded the coast, retired to the woody heights, commanding a pass leading to the works at Brooklyn. Lord Cornwallis was detached to seize the pass.

Major-general Putnam was now directed to take command at Brooklyn, and passed over with six regiments. On the same day, Lieutenant-general de Heister landed with two brigades of Hessians. The next day he took post at Flatbush, and Lord Cornwallis, who had occupied this place, marched to Flatland.

The Hessians under General de Heister composed the centre; General Grant commanded the left wing, and General Clinton the right. The hostile armies were only separated by a range of hills. The centre of the enemy was not four miles from the lines at Brooklyn, while their right and left wings were not over five or six miles. Colonel Lutz, of the Pennsylvania militia, commanded on the coast road, and Colonel Williams, from New England, on the road leading from Flatbush to Bedford.

About nine o'clock at night of the twenty-sixth of August, General Clinton silently drew off the van of the British army, and marching through the country, seized a pass in the range of hills before mentioned, about three miles east of Bedford. This pass was unguarded, and it seems that he reached it without being discovered. They were immediately followed by a strong column under Lord Percy, who reached the same place on the morning of the twenty-seventh. Very early in the same morning, General Grant put the left wing in motion, and advanced along the coast.

Brigadier-general Lord Sterling was directed by General Putnam to march with two regiments, and meet the enemy on the road leading from the Narrows. General Sullivan pro-

ceeded with a large body of men on the road leading to Flatbush, while another body occupied the heights between Flatbush and Bedford.

About break of day Lord Sterling reached the summit of the hills, where he was joined by the troops which had already been engaged, and were retiring before the enemy. Here he endeavoured to make a stand. The enemy began a cannonade, which the Americans returned. This was kept up for some hours. The object of Grant seems, however, to have been merely to amuse them till Clinton should execute that part of the plan entrusted to him.

Soon after day light, General de Heister commenced a cannonade on the troops under General Sullivan; but did not move from his ground at Flatbush, until the right wing of the British army had approached the left and rear of the Americans. About half after eight the British right having reached Bedford in the rear of Sullivan's left, General de Heister ordered Colonel Donop's corps to advance to the attack, while he followed with the centre. The approach of Clinton was now discovered by the American left, which immediately endeavoured to regain the camp at Brooklyn; but was met by the British, where a severe conflict ensued, in which the former were defeated and driven back into the woods. In the mean time, Sullivan was obliged to fall back. The Americans were thus attacked in front and rear. A succession of skirmishes took place in the woods, in the course of which, considerable portions of the Americans forced their way through the enemy's ranks, and regained their camp at Brooklyn.

The loss of the Americans in this unfortunate action, including prisoners, exceeded three thousand men. Major-general Sullivan, and Brigadiers Lord Sterling and Woodhull, were made prisoners. The enemy admitted a loss of twenty-one officers, and three hundred and forty-six privates, but it was probably much greater.

The enemy, believing the Americans to be much stronger than they were in reality, made no immediate attempt upon their lines at Brooklyn. They encamped in front of them, and on

the twenty-eighth, at night, commenced throwing up works. The situation of the American army on Long Island, had now become extremely critical. Washington, therefore, determined to withdraw it, before the enemy should surround it. In pursuance of this determination, he caused the troops to quit their works on the night of the twenty-eighth and the morning of the twenty-ninth, and brought them on to the continent. This was done with so much secrecy, that the enemy had no intimation before daylight, when they discovered the rear guard in boats.

Washington has been censured by some, for attempting to defend Long Island; but those persons did not consider, that the city of New-York could not have resisted an hour, had the heights at Brooklyn been left undefended. New-York, at present could not hold out one day, were an enemy possessed of them. If, therefore, any error was committed, it was by those who advised him to defend the city.

The first use made by Lord Howe, of the victory of the twenty-seventh of August, was to avail himself of the impression it had probably made on Congress, by opening a negociation. For this purpose, General Sullivan was sent on parol to Philadelphia, with a verbal message, the import of which was, that though he could not at present treat with Congress as a political body; yet he was very desirous of having a conference with some of their body, whom he would meet at any place they would appoint. That he, in conjunction with General Howe, had full powers to compromise the disputes between Great Britain and America, on terms advantageous to both. That he wished a contract might be settled at this time, when no decisive blow was struck, and neither party could allege being compelled to enter into it.

The answer given to Lord Howe, through General Sullivan, was, "that Congress being the representatives of the free and independent States of America, cannot, with propriety, send any of its members to confer with his lordship in their private characters; but that they being desirous of establishing a peace on reasonable terms, would send a committee to learn whether he had authority to treat or not."

Mr. John Adams, Mr. Edward Rutledge and Dr. Franklin were appointed to receive the communications of Lord Howe. They waited on his lordship, and on their return, reported that he had received them on the eleventh of September, on Staten Island, with great politeness.

He opened the conversation by stating to them, that though he could not treat with them as a committee of Congress, yet as his powers enabled him to confer and consult with any private gentleman on the means of restoring peace, he was glad of this opportunity, and that if they thought themselves at liberty to enter into a conference he was ready. They observed to his lordship, that he might consider them in what light he pleased, and communicate any propositions he chose; but that they could consider themselves in no other character, than that in which they were placed. That his lordship then entered into a discourse, which contained explicit propositions of peace, except one; and that was, that the colonies should return to their allegiance and obedience to Great Britain. That they had signified to his lordship, that a return to the domination of Great Britain was not now to be expected.

These fruitless negociations produced no suspension of hostilities. The day after the Americans left Long Island, Governor's Island was also evacuated.

The British army on Long Island was posted at Bedford, Bushwick, Newtown, Flushing and Hell-gate, comprehending an extent of nine miles. The two armies were divided by East River, which is from twelve to eighteen hundred yards broad, and on both sides of which batteries were erected, which kept up an incessant fire.

Immediately after the battle of Brooklyn, the enemy made dispositions to attack the city of New-York. A part of the fleet sailed round Long Island, and appeared in the Sound near Hell-gate. Two frigates passed between Governor's Island and Red Hook, up East River, and took shelter behind a small island from the American artillery; while the Admiral, with the main body of the fleet, lay at anchor close in with

Governor's Island, ready to pass up either East River or Hudson's River, or both, as occasion might require.

These movements indicated that the object of the enemy was not an immediate attack upon the city, but to land in West Chester, near Kingsbridge, and take a position which would enable them to cut off the communication of the American army with the continent, and thereby compel it to surrender.

Washington, in order to guard against this, divided his army into three divisions, the first, consisting of five thousand men, he stationed at the city of New-York; the second, consisting of nine thousand men, he stationed at Kingsbridge; while the third he disposed along the intermediate space, in such a manner that it could afford assistance to either or both of the others. Soon after this disposition of the army, the enemy began to make arrangements, as if to land at Montresor's island or Morrisania. The next morning, a part of their army, amounting to four thousand men, under General Clinton, landed at Kipp's Bay, about three miles above the city of New-York. The troops stationed here, although sheltered by works thrown up, fled with precipitation. Washington ordered the brigades of Generals Parsons and Fellows to march to their support, but the panic which had struck the fugitives, seized these brigades, and they also retreated. His only alternative now was to withdraw the few troops remaining in the city, which he did with very little loss.

September 15, 1776.—The enemy being now in possession of the city of New-York, stationed some troops in it, and took post with the main body of their army, near the American lines. Their right was at Horn's Hook, on the East River, and their left at Hudson's River, near Bloomingdale, while their centre occupied the middle of the island, which hereabouts is two miles broad. At this time the enemy may be said to have possessed the southern part of the island, and the Americans the northern. The position of the latter was strong, and favourable for a retreat, in case of any disaster or ulterior movement of the enemy rendering such a step necessary.

The day after the retreat from New-York, a detachment

from the British army made a movement, and attacked a party of Americans: a smart skirmish ensued, in which the enemy were compelled to retreat, with considerable loss. In this affair Colonel Knowlton and Major Leitch fell, on the side of the Americans.

The armies did not long retain their positions on the island of New-York. General Howe, being sensible of the strength of the American camp, and remembering Bunker's Hill, had no inclination to force it. His plan was to compel Washington, either to abandon it or to fight him, in a situation in which a defeat must be attended with the destruction of his army. With this view he determined, after throwing up intrenchments on M'Gowan's hill, for the protection of New-York, to gain the rear of the American army, by the road leading to New England, along which their principal supplies came; and also to possess himself of Hudson's River, above Kingsbridge. He, therefore, dispatched three frigates up the latter river, and then embarked a great part of his army on board of boats, and proceeding up East River into the Sound, landed at Frog's Neck, about nine miles from Harlaem heights. Frog's Neck is completely surrounded by the water, which, at flood tide, is unfordable; so that it is, in fact, an island, communicating with the continent by bridges. These bridges were broken down by the Americans, and works were immediately thrown up to obstruct the enemy's march into the country. Washington moved part of his forces from New-York island to Kingsbridge, while he sent others to oppose the enemy so soon as they should advance from Frog's Neck. The country being intersected in every direction by stone fences, was well adapted for skirmishing and impeding the enemy's progress.

General Howe continued some days, quietly waiting for his artillery and reinforcements from Staten Island, which were detained by the winds.

On the sixteenth of October, Washington changed the position of his army, by extending his left up Hudson's River, towards White Plains, and beyond the enemy's right. He was

induced to this in order to keep up a communication with the country, and to prevent being inclosed by the enemy.

In the mean time, the artillery and reinforcements having arrived, General Howe decamped, and marched through Pelham's manor towards New Rochelle. Several skirmishes were fought on this march, in which the Americans evinced great gallantry. New Rochelle is on the Sound. Washington now occupied the heights between that place and the Hudson. At this place, Howe was joined by General Knyphausen and his Germans, and some cavalry from Ireland.

Both armies now moved towards the White Plains, a strong piece of ground, where a large camp had been marked out, and was already occupied by a detachment of militia. The main body of the American army formed a line of intrenched camps, extending twelve or thirteen miles on the different heights, commencing at Valentine's Hill, near Kingsbridge, and ending at White Plains. This line of intrenched camps fronted the little river Bronx, and the British line of march. These camps were so situated, that the whole army could be assembled at any one point in a short time, should circumstances require.

While the enemy lay at New Rochelle, Major Green was detached by night with a corps to surprise a British regiment, under Major Rogers, at Mamaroneck. This he executed, killing and taking about sixty men. Soon after Colonel Hand fell in with and defeated a regiment of Hessian chasseurs.

Washington was now encamped on the high and broken grounds, with his right flank covered by the Bronx, which meanders so that it also covered the front of his right wing, which extended along the road leading down on the east side of that river towards New Rochelle, as far as the brow of the hill, where his centre was posted. His left, which formed almost a right angle with his centre, and was nearly parallel to his right, extended along the hills northwardly, so as to retain possession of the commanding ground, and secure a retreat, should it be necessary.

On the right of the army, and on the west side of the Bronx,

about one mile from the camp, on the road leading from the Hudson, was a hill occupied by General M'Dougal, with sixteen hundred men, mostly militia

The enemy, who had advanced from New Rochelle and Mamaroneck, and were within seven or eight miles of White Plains, now made arrangements to attack the American army in its camp. Early in the morning, they advanced in two columns, the right was commanded by General Clinton, and the left by General Knyphausen, accompanied by General Howe in person. The patroles fell back, and their van appeared about ten o'clock in full view of the American lines. A cannonade was commenced, without doing much execution on either side.

The right of the enemy was formed behind a rising ground, about a mile in front of the camp, and stretched from the road leading from Mamaroneck towards the Bronx, so that it was opposed to the centre of the American army.

On viewing the situation of the American army, General Howe determined to possess himself of the hill occupied by the detachment under General M'Dougal, which he deemed as important to the success of an attack on its centre and right. He, therefore, ordered Colonel Rawle, with his brigade of Hessians, to cross the Bronx, and make a circuit, so as to gain a position, from which he might annoy the right flank of M'Dougal's detachment, while Brigadier-general Leslie, with the second brigade of British troops, and the Hessians, under Colonel Donop, should attack him in front. When Colonel Rawle had gained the position he had been ordered to take, Leslie and Donop crossed the Bronx, and commenced an attack on the front. The militia fled, but the New-York continentals, under Colonel Reitzimar, and the Marylanders, under Colonel Smallwood, advanced to meet them, and engaged them with great intrepidity; being, however, overpowered by numbers, they had soon to retreat. The enemy advanced with great resolution, and after some hard fighting, possessed himself of the hill. General Putnam, who had been ordered up with General Beal's brigade, did not arrive in time to afford support.

In this affair the loss on both sides was supposed to be nearly

equal. That of the Americans was between three and four hundred.

Washington remained in his lines, expecting every moment an attack, but as a considerable part of the day had been spent in taking possession of the hill occupied by M'Dougal, all attempts on his intrenchments were deferred until the next day. During the night he strengthened his works, and caused the sick and the baggage to be removed. He shifted his right wing by drawing it back to stronger ground.

In the mean time, General Howe remained inactive until the thirty-first day of October, about which period he received a considerable reinforcement, commanded by Lord Percy, when he made dispositions for attacking the whole of the American army in its trenches.

Washington changed his position in the night, and fell back about five miles, where he took a new position on the heights of North Castle. At the same time he sent General Beal with his brigade to take possession of the bridge on Croton river, which lay a few miles in his rear. This position was so strong that General Howe did not consider it prudent to make any attempt upon it. He, therefore, changed his operations, and resolved upon the reduction of Fort Washington, on the island of New-York, and Fort Lee, on the west side of Hudson's river. These posts, it will be seen, checked very essentially his movements. With a view of putting his resolution into effect, he directed General Knyphausen to cross the country from New Rochelle, and take possession of Kingsbridge, where some Americans were stationed in Fort Independence. On his approach, the Americans retired to Fort Washington, and Knyphausen crossed over on to the island of New-York, and encamped to the north of the fort.

Meanwhile General Howe decamped and marched to Dobb's Ferry, from whence he retired slowly down the Hudson towards Kingsbridge.

About this time, Washington directed that three thousand men should be stationed at Peekskill, and in the passes of the Highlands, in order that a communication might be kept up between the Eastern and Middle States.

General Greene, who commanded in New-Jersey, on receiving intelligence of Howe's movements, directed his attention to the preservation of Fort Washington. He caused most of the stores, belonging to the army in this quarter, to be removed into the interior, so that they might not fall into the enemy's hands, in case he should succeed in his designs on Forts Washington and Lee.

Measures were now taken to cross Hudson's River, with the troops which had been raised on its western side, while those levied on its eastern side remained where they then were, under General Lee. Washington accompanied those who passed the river. General Lee, pursuant to the plan concerted, fell back behind Croton River, and took post on the commanding grounds at Pinesbridge.

Washington having visited the posts about Peekskill, and given the necessary directions for their defence, joined General Greene near Fort Lee.

Fort Washington was commanded by Colonel Magaw.

About the twelfth of November, General Howe encamped near Kingsbridge, on the heights of Fordham, with his right towards the north, and his left on the Bronx. Dispositions were immediately made for the reduction of Fort Washington. On the thirteenth, Colonel Magaw was summoned to surrender, on pain of the garrison being put to the sword, but he refused, replying, that he should defend the place to the last.

General Howe, on receiving this answer, determined to carry it by storm. On the sixteenth, at about ten o'clock, the enemy appeared, and moved on to the assault, in four separate divisions. Their first division consisting of five thousand men, composed of Hessians and Waldeckers, commanded by General Knyphausen, advanced on the north side of the works, where they were received by the troops under Colonel Rawlings.—The second, on the east, was led by General Matthews, supported by Lord Cornwallis, who commanded a corps of reserve. The third was conducted by Colonel Stirling, and the fourth by Lord Percy, accompanied by General Howe, in person.

The attacks on the north and south, by Knyphausen, and

Lord Percy, were made about the same instant on the quarters commanded by Colonels Rawlings and Cadwallader. The enemy carried the latter, after an obstinate resistance, but at the former, he was repulsed several times, with great loss—at length, however, he succeeded, and Colonel Rawlings retired into the fort.

General Howe having carried the lines of the fort, and being possessed of the adjoining grounds, which gave him the command of the works, again summoned Colonel Magaw to surrender. While the capitulation was going on, Washington sent Colonel Magaw a billet, requesting him to hold out until the evening, when he would endeavour to bring off the garrison—but that officer had proceeded too far to retract, and it is probable that the place could not have resisted an assault. Under these circumstances, the garrison, amounting to nearly three thousand men, surrendered prisoners of war. The loss of the enemy, in carrying the lines, amounted to two thousand men, and fell mostly on the Hessians and Waldeckers.

The surrender of Fort Washington was followed by an immediate evacuation of Fort Lee, and a removal of the stores into the interior of New-Jersey.

On the eighteenth of November, Lord Cornwallis, with six thousand men, crossed the Hudson below Dobbs' Ferry, and landed in New-Jersey.

Washington retired, and took post on the west side of Hackensack river, but he soon found that it would be impossible to dispute its passage, before such superior forces. He, however, made exertions to impede the advance of the enemy. In the mean time, he sent directions to General Schuyler, who commanded in the north, to send to his aid the troops of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey—he also sent directions to General Lee to cross the Hudson, and hold himself in readiness to join him, should the enemy continue the campaign. He ordered General Mercer, who commanded a part of the flying camp, stationed about Bergen, to come in. The American army, at this time, was diminishing very rapidly, in consequence of the expiration

for the time for which the men had enlisted, and no hope remained of their enlisting again.

November the twenty-first, Washington, with Beals', Heards', and part of Irvings' brigades, fell behind Passaic river, and established his head-quarters at Newark. Soon after, General Vaughan appeared with a numerous detachment, before the new bridge over Hackensack, and forced the Americans, who had remained there for its defence, to retire. The bridge, however, was broken down. About the same time, General Mifflin was dispatched to Pennsylvania, to endeavour to call the militia out. Colonel Reid was sent to the governor of New-Jersey, to press upon him the necessity of making immediate exertions to prevent the whole state from being overrun.

Being unable to make head against the enemy, who were now gathering in great force along the Passaic, Washington decamped, and retired to Brunswick, a village on the west side of Rariton River. Here considerable numbers of his troops left him, being entitled to their discharge. Many of the militia from Pennsylvania deserted, and returned home. The American army at this time was reduced to about four thousand men, and these were badly armed, fed, and clothed, and almost without tents. Every thing seemed to announce a speedy termination of the war. The governor of New-Jersey was unable to furnish the aids required; disaffection began to manifest itself; those who had been ardent supporters of American rights, began to show a coolness and indifference to the further prosecution of the war.

The enemy still continuing to advance, and Washington, deeming it not safe to remain any longer at Brunswick, broke up his camp, and retired first to Princeton and then to Trenton, on Delaware river. At Princeton he left Lord Stirling, with about twelve hundred men, who was to watch the movements of the enemy.

The army at Trenton did not exceed three thousand men. During these retrograde movements, the only cavalry belonging to the army was a corps of badly mounted Connecticut

militia, under Major Sheldon. These, however, rendered very essential aids.

In this crisis of American affairs, a proclamation was issued by Lord Howe and General Howe, commanding all persons assembled in arms against his Majesty's government, to disband and return to their homes; and all civil officers to desist from their treasonable practices, and relinquish their usurped authority. A full pardon was also offered to every person, who would within sixty days, appear before certain civil or military officers of the crown, and claim the benefit of that proclamation; and, at the same time, testify his obedience to the laws, by subscribing a declaration of his submission to the royal authority. Copies of this proclamation were dispersed throughout the country; after which numbers flocked in daily, for the purpose of making their peace, and obtaining protection. The contrast between the splendid appearance of the advancing army, and that made by the retiring army, covered with rags, and destitute of almost every necessary, contributed in no small degree to the opinion, that the contest was drawing near to a close.

Undismayed by the dangers which surrounded him, Washington did not relax his exertions, nor did he despair of the public safety. He caused the baggage and stores of the army to be removed to the right bank of the Delaware, and the sick to be sent to Philadelphia. Finding that Lord Cornwallis still continued at Brunswick, he, on the fifth of December, detached twelve hundred men to Princeton, to reinforce Lord Stirling, in the hope, that by appearing to advance upon the enemy, he might not only delay his progress, but in some measure cover the country, and reanimate the dispirited. About the same time, fifteen hundred Philadelphians volunteered in defence of their country, and proceeded to Trenton. Congress ordered a battalion of Germans, lately levied, to proceed to the same place. On receiving the reinforcements, amounting to two thousand men, Washington set out to return to Princeton, but before reaching that place, he learned that Lord Cornwallis

was marching by different routes, so as to get in his rear; he was therefore obliged to fall back to the Delaware, which river he crossed on the eighth, and took post on its right bank.

The enemy reached Trenton almost as soon as the Americans had left it. They made some attempts to cross the river, but were prevented mostly from a want of boats.

While on his march through New-Jersey, General Lee very indiscreetly quartered under a slight guard, in a house about three miles from his army. Information being given to Colonel Harcourt, at that time detached with a body of cavalry for the purpose of gaining intelligence of his movements, he immediately formed the design of seizing him. By a rapid march, this officer, at the head of his cavalry, reached the house where the general was, very early in the morning, and took him prisoner, and bore him away to the British army, where he was for some time treated as a deserter.

This was considered a serious loss, and for a time made a very serious impression on the public. General Lee was a man of talents, had considerable experience in military matters, and was very popular, owing in some measure to his success at Charleston in South Carolina.

General Sullivan, on whom the command of that division of the army devolved, after the capture of General Lee, marched directly to Phillipsburgh, and after crossing the Delaware, soon joined Washington. By the junction of these forces, on the twentieth of December, the American army amounted to seven thousand effective men. On the same day General Gates arrived, with a part of the northern army.

Lord Cornwallis, having been unable to procure boats for the transportation of his army over the Delaware, appeared to have determined to close the campaign, and retire into winter quarters. He cantoned four thousand of his men on the left bank of the Delaware, at Trenton, Bordentown, the White Horse, and Burlington, while the residue of his army he distributed from that river to the Hackensack. He stationed detachments at Princeton, Brunswick, and Elizabethtown.

The object of General Howe, in having his army distributed

over so large an extent of country, seems to have been to intimidate the inhabitants, and impede the recruiting service. To counteract his object in these respects, Washington ordered three regiments, who were marching from Peekskill, in the state of New-York, to join him, to halt at Morristown in New-Jersey, and unite with eight hundred militia, who had assembled at that place, under Colonel Ford. He sent General Maxwell to take the command of these forces, and gave him orders to watch the enemy, and harass him whenever he could, and to give intelligence of his movements.

The present aspect of the American affairs was very gloomy. The army, except a few regiments from New-York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, affording an effective force of about fifteen hundred men, would dissolve in a few days. New-Jersey was mostly overrun, and occupied by the enemy. The militia of Pennsylvania had not turned out with cheerfulness as had been expected.

Moved by divers considerations, Washington, on seeing the dispersed situation of the British army, formed the daring plan of attacking all their posts on the left bank of the Delaware at the same time.

Most of his continentals were posted above Trenton, from Yardly's up to Coryell's ferry. General Irvine, with a detachment of militia, occupied the space from Yardly's to a ferry opposite Bordentown, and General Cadwallader, with a body of Pennsylvania militia, was encamped still lower down the river.

The plan was to cross the Delaware in the night, at M'Konkey's ferry, about nine miles above Trenton—march down in two divisions, the one taking the river road and the other the Pennington road, both of which led into the town, the one at the west end and the other towards the north. This part of the plan was to be executed by Washington in person, at the head of two thousand four hundred continentals. General Irvine was to cross at the Trenton ferry, and secure the bridge at the lower end of the town, so as to prevent the escape of any part of the enemy on that side. General Cadwallader

was to cross over at Bristol, and carry the post at Burlington. The night of December twenty-fifth was chosen for putting the plan into operation. The cold was so severe, and the loose ice descended in such abundance, that the troops were not transported, and the line of march taken up before four o'clock in the morning. As the distance to Trenton, both by the river and the Pennington road, is nearly the same, it was supposed that each divison would reach its place of destination about the same time, and, therefore, orders were given to attack at the first moment of arrival.

Washington accompanied the division which took the upper road, and reached the out-post precisely at eight o'clock in the morning. He immediately drove it in, and in three minutes the fire from the division, which had taken the lower road, was heard. The Americans advanced with so much rapidity that the enemy could not stand. Colonel Rawle, a very gallant officer, who commanded in Trenton, paraded his men, in order to oppose the Americans. In the very commencement of the action he was mortally wounded, and his troops in apparent confusion, attempted to file off from the right, and gain the Princeton road. Perceiving this, Washington threw a detachment in their front, which intercepted them. Finding themselves surrounded, they laid down their arms and surrendered.

Unfortunately the ice had prevented General Irvine from executing that part of the plan assigned to him. A part of the enemy, about five hundred men, stationed in the lower end of the town, escaped to Bordentown. The same cause prevented General Cadwallader from attacking the post at Burlington. With much difficulty he had got over a part of his infantry, and he even returned with these.

Though the plan was only executed in part, it was attended with the happiest consequences. One thousand of the enemy were made prisoners, one thousand stand of arms, and six field pieces, were taken. The loss of the enemy did not exceed twenty, while that of the Americans consisted of two privates killed, and two frozen to death.

Washington immediately repassed the Delaware with his prisoners, and resumed his former position. Nothing could surpass the astonishment of the enemy at this unexpected attack.

Lord Cornwallis, who had gone to the city of New-York, which was then the head-quarters of the British army in America, returned to New-Jersey with large reinforcements, for the purpose of regaining the ground he had lost.

Meanwhile, Count Donop, who had commanded the troops below Trenton, on hearing of the disaster that had befallen Colonel Rawle, retreated to Princeton, and joined General Leslie.

The next day General Cadwallader effected a passage over the Delaware. About the same time, General Mifflin joined General Irvine with fifteen hundred militia. These forces also passed over the Delaware into New-Jersey.

General Heath, who was stationed at Peekskill, on the Hudson, was ordered to march with the main body of the New England militia into New-Jersey, and approach the enemy's cantonements on that side. General Maxwell was directed to harass them. On the thirtieth, Washington recrossed again into New-Jersey, and took post at Trenton.

January 1, 1777.—The enemy were now collected in force at Princeton, under Lord Cornwallis. Generals Mifflin and Cadwallader arriving with three thousand six hundred militia, the whole American army now amounted to five thousand men.

On the second, the enemy advanced upon them, when some skirmishes ensued. Washington finding it unsafe to risk an action with forces so superior, retired across the Assumpinck creek, which runs through the town, behind which he drew up his army. The enemy, as all the passes across the creek were guarded, and as the day was far spent, halted and encamped for the night. Fires were kindled by both armies.

The situation of the American army was again extremely critical; the passage of the Delaware could not be easily effected, in consequence of the floating ice; a total defeat would

evidently follow, should he continue where he then was; he therefore adopted the plan of marching by a circuitous route, along the left flank of the enemy, into their rear at Princeton, where he judged they could not be very strong. A council of war being called, and the plan approved of, preparations were instantly made to carry it into execution. The baggage, as soon as it was dark, was sent to Burlington; and about one o'clock, after renewing their fires, and leaving their guards at all the passes, the army decamped and proceeded through Allenstown to Princeton. About sun rise they fell in with two regiments of the enemy, who were on their march to join Lord Cornwallis, when a very severe conflict ensued, in which the Americans prevailed. One regiment of the enemy forced its way through, and continued its march, the other retreated to Brunswick. In this affair General Mercer was killed, and nearly one hundred men; the enemy had about one hundred slain, and nearly three hundred were made prisoners. Colonels Haslett and Potter, and Captains Neal and Fleming, and five other officers, were also killed on the American side.

On the appearance of daylight, Lord Cornwallis, on discovering that the American army had decamped, broke up his camp, and returned with all possible dispatch to Princeton. Washington, after seizing the enemy's stores at Princeton, retired to Pluckemin, where he halted for some days. Lord Cornwallis continued his retreat to Brunswick.

The sufferings of the American army had been so great, from the severity of the season, and the want of necessary clothing, and the very active service in which they had been engaged, that Washington deemed it proper to retire to Morristown, and put his men into winter quarters.

The bold and well executed attacks made on the enemy at Trenton and Princeton, had great influence, and may be said to have changed the fate of the war.

Philadelphia was saved, New-Jersey was recovered, and public spirit roused. The recruiting service became more active, and an army was soon formed, which, although not able in all

cases to cope with the enemy's superior forces, kept them at bay, and prevented them from overrunning the country.

We have already remarked, that the American army under General Sullivan, after being driven out of Canada, took post at Crown Point, where General Gates assumed the command. The war in the north had changed its object and character. Instead of conquest, it became necessary to defend the country. The possession of Lakes Champlain and George by the enemy, which might lead to the acquisition of Albany, and all the upper parts of the Hudson and its branches, thereby opening a free communication between the northen British army, and that in New-York, and enabling them to co-operate with each other, while it would, in a great measure, sever and disconnect the eastern and middle states, was as much to be deprecated on the one side, as it was wished on the other.

The command of this department had been intrusted to General Schuyler, a man of talents, who possessed great influence in the country. General Gates had been named to the command of the army of Canada, and after having reached Ticonderoga, he still claimed the command of the army, though it was no longer in Canada, and was in the department of General Schuyler, a senior officer, who had rendered very eminent services in that station, and who, if placed under General Gates, must have felt it impossible to continue in the army. On the representation of this circumstance to Congress, it was declared not to be their intention to place Gates over Schuyler, and it was recommended to these officers, to endeavour to co-operate harmoniously.

Considerable fears were entertained of their ability, with the forces under their command, to maintain their ground against the enemy, flushed with victory. Fortunately the command of Lake Champlain was still in the hands of the Americans. Aware that the enemy were about constructing a fleet at St. Johns; in order to obtain the mastery, it was determined to augment the American naval force, in order to maintain the ascendency.

General Schuyler used all the means in his power to accomplish this object. But he found it impossible to obtain, in sufficient quantities, equal to his wishes, either cannon, the necessary materials for ships, or workmen to build them. In consequence of these difficulties, the fleet which the Americans equipped under his superintendance, amounted to only fifteen small vessels, the largest of which carried only twelve guns, of six and four pounds each.

General Arnold was appointed to command this little fleet. He sailed towards the north end of the lake, to watch the movements of the enemy.

The small-pox made great ravages in the army about this time. In July, the Generals Schuyler and Gates evacuated Crown Point, and concentrated their forces at Ticonderoga. This measure had, in some degree, become necessary, although it was in general condemned by those at a distance.

With almost incredible exertions, General Carleton constructed a powerful fleet, the materials for which he caused to be transported some distance over land. His soldiers dragged up the rapids of St. Therese and St. Johns, thirty long boats, a number of large flat boats, a gondola, weighing thirty tons, with upwards of four hundred batteaux. These immense works were completed in little more than three months, and Arnold beheld on the lakes, in the beginning of October, a fleet, consisting of the ship Inflexible, carrying eighteen twelve-pounders; one schooner, mounting fourteen, and another twelve six-pounders; a flat bottomed radeau, carrying six twenty-four pounders, and twelves, besides howitzers; and a gondola, carrying seven nine-pounders. Twenty smaller vessels, under the denomination of gun-boats, carried brass field pieces, from nine to twenty-four-pounders, or were armed with howitzers. Some large boats were furnished in the same manner, and about an equal number of large boats acted as tenders. This formidable fleet, manned by seven hundred chosen seamen, on board of which was General Carleton himself, was conducted by Captain Pringle. It proceeded immediately in quest of Arnold, who

was soon found advantageously posted between the island of Valiccour and the western main.

Notwithstanding the great disparity of force, a warm action ensued on the fourth of October. An unfavourable wind kept the Inflexible, and some others of the largest vessels belonging to the enemy, at too great a distance to take part in the action. This fortunate circumstance enabled Arnold to keep up the engagement for several hours. Towards night Captain Pringle, the English commodore, thought it advisable to discontinue the action for the present, and the whole fleet was anchored in a line, as near that of the Americans as it could be brought, for the purpose of preventing its escape. In this engagement the best schooner belonging to the American fleet was burnt, and a gondola sunk.

Finding it impossible to renew the action the next day, General Arnold made his escape in the night, in the hope of reaching Ticonderoga, where he might be sheltered under the guns of that fort. The wind being favourable, he was the next mornentirely out of sight. An immediate pursuit, however, was made, and about noon he was overtaken and brought to action, a few miles north of Crown Point. He kept up a very warm engagement for about two hours, in the course of which those vessels that were most ahead pushed on, and made their escape. Two galleys and five gondolas, which remained, made a stout resistance. One of them, named the Washington, at length struck, and was taken. Unable longer to maintain the action, and determined not to fall into the hands of the enemy, General Arnold caused the remaining vessels to be run on shore in such a manner as to land the crews in safety; after which he ordered them to be blown up.

This defeat did not dispirit the Americans, nor lessen the reputation of General Arnold.

Lake Champlain was now mostly recovered by the British, but their great object was to reduce Crown Point and Ticonderoga, in order that they might advance to Albany, and effect a junction with part of the British army at New-York.

General Carleton proceeded to Crown Point, which was abandoned by the few Americans who had been left there, and landed his army. Some of his vessels advanced within sight of Ticonderoga; but, fortunately for the Americans, the wind, on the fourteenth of October, at which time Carleton was about to sail, came about to the southward, and blew fresh from that quarter for eight days, which made it impracticable for the fleet to proceed up the lake.

The combined forces of Schuyler and Gates were about ten thousand men. Detachments and reconnoitering parties advanced on both sides of the lake, within a small distance of the American lines. It was expected that the British general meditated an assault; but the apparent strength of the works, the difficulties that would attend a regular approach, the lateness of the season, and the nearness of winter, seem to have deterred him from such attempt.

At the end of about one month, General Carleton re-embarked his forces, and returned to Canada. The same day Generals Schuyler and Gates dismissed the militia, and all military enterprises hereabouts were terminated for that year.

This retrograde movement on the part of General Carleton, relieved very much the apprehensions of the Americans in this quarter, and enabled General Gates to march with a large detachment of the northern army, to the banks of the Delaware, to the aid of Washington, who had been compelled to retire to the right bank of that river.

An expedition against Rhode Island was planned by the British. The land forces employed in this service amounted to about three thousand men, and were commanded by Sir Henry Clinton, and the fleet employed was under Sir Peter Parker. They sailed from New-York about the last of November, and without much opposition, took possession of the island on which Newport, the capital of the state stands, and gave, for a short time, a very serious alarm to the states of Connecticut and Massachusetts.

This unexpected invasion occasioned a diversion of the militia of New England for some time, who had assembled in con-

siderable force, to reinforce the army under Washington. Independent of this diversion, the British derived permanent advantages, and the Americans sustained lasting injuries from the possession of this fine town and harbour. In addition to this, Commodore Hopkins, with most of his squadron, and several privateers, were found in Providence river, where they were closely blockaded.

During these military transactions many events occurred, which, though of minor importance, are too interesting to remain unnoticed.

The part which might be taken in the present contest, by the numerous tribes of Indians, inhabiting the immense regions west and south of the United States, was a matter of real interest to the contending powers, and apprehensions were early entertained that they would engage on the side of the British. Sir John Johnson, son of Sir Wm. Johnson, inherited the great influence of his father over the Agoneaseah, and other tribes residing about the lakes, and from what could be learned, it was evident he was engaged in exerting that influence, in order to arm them against the Americans. This excited no inconsiderable alarm in the states of New-York and Pennsylvania, whose frontiers were exposed to the inroads of those tribes, in case they should take up the tommahawk. The alarms in the southern states of Indian hostilities were also considerable.

Very early exertions were made to counteract the machinations of the enemy, and to secure the neutrality of the Indian tribes. So early as the month of July, 1775, commissioners were appointed to hold a conference with the Agoneaseah, and those about the lakes.

A treaty was negociated with the Agoneaseah, or Six Nations, in which they agreed to observe a strict neutrality, between the contending parties. General Schuyler was one of the commissioners who attended on the part of Congress. And as this gentleman possessed an hereditary influence over them, it was fondly hoped that they would faithfully observe the neutrality, but this hope was soon dissipated.

In the south, a plan had been formed by Lord Dunmore, to

induce the Cherokees and Creeks, and other tribes, to take up arms and co-operate with the loyalists in the back settlements.

In pursuance of this plan, the Creeks commenced hostilities; but as the promised succours did not arrive in season, they were induced, by an apprehension that their country might be laid waste by the Americans, to conclude a peace.

The operations of the Cherokees, who had lifted the hatchet about the same time, were of longer continuance and more extensive. They made frequent and sudden inroads into the country, which they devastated in their usual manner, murdering and scalping indiscriminately, the mother with her infant, as well as those capable of bearing arms. These inroads began about the time the enemy attacked Fort Moultrie, but the depredators did not go long unpunished. Several regiments of continentals were ordered on to the frontiers, and such of the inhabitants as were capable of bearing arms, were assembled, who, in conjunction with the troops sent to their assistance, marched into the Cherokee country, which they soon laid waste. In this distress the Cherokees sued for peace, which was readily granted to them.

The peculiar nature of the war—a war between a sovereign and those, who, in its commencement, still professed themselves to be his subjects, gave birth to several things not usual between independent states. Among these, the most interesting, was that of the treatment of prisoners.

Gen. Gage, who had been appointed governor of Massachusetts a little prior to the commencement of hostilities, had received in that station all the irritations of which his mind was susceptible—irritations, which, as too frequently happen, seem to have been retained by him in his character of commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, and to have had no inconsiderable share of influence over his conduct. He considered the Americans as rebels, and treated them as if the great national resistance they were now making on principle, was only the act of a few daring individuals, rising against laws of unquestionable obligation, who would soon be quelled and punished for their disobedience to legitimate authority. In this spirit so well cal-

culated to add to the calamites of war, and to increase the miseries of the human race, some distinguished characters in Boston, especially Mr. Lovel, and the American officers and soldiers, who fell into his hands, were thrown into the common jail with felons, and treated without respect to military rank or condition, not as prisoners of war, but as state criminals.

This unjustifiable measure was remonstrated against by Washington and Congress.

Washington wrote a letter to General Gage on this subject, in which he urged a different course, and declared his determination of retaliation in case of non-compliance. To this letter a very haughty and intemperate answer was returned. The result of this correspondence was communicated to the council of Massachusetts, who directed that the British officers, then at Watertown, and elsewhere on parole, should be confined in jail. On the recall of General Gage, the command devolved on General Howe, whose conduct was less exceptionable; and this rigorous treatment of prisoners was soon relaxed.

Not long after this, Colonel Ethan Allen, who had greatly distinguished himself among those that had taken Ticonderoga and Crown Point, advanced at the head of some volunteers against Montreal, while Montgomery was beseiging St. Johns, and on arriving near that town, he was attacked by superior numbers and routed, and himself made a prisoner. Under pretext of his having acted without authority, he was clapped in irons, and sent to England as a traitor.

A letter was addressed to General Howe respecting the treatment of Colonel Allen, in which he was given to understand, that unless a different course was observed, General Prescot should receive exactly such treatment.

General Howe not holding any authority in Canada, or not choosing to answer the letter, Congress ordered General Schuyler to put him in jail. He was, however, speedily removed to a private house and confined to a room.

On the arrival of Admiral Howe and General Howe at New-York, the system which had been so long maintained, was abandoned, and an exchange of prisoners was agreed on.

There was not, however, a sufficient number of prisoners in the hands of the Americans to redeem those in the hands of the enemy; and consequently many of their citizens remained in confinement. From them complaints were daily received of their experiencing severe and cruel treatment. These were confined on board of prison ships in large numbers, where they became the victims of disease and death. This disgraceful and inhuman treatment is supposed to have been adopted for the purpose of compelling the miserable sufferers to enter into the British service. When charged with a conduct so unworthy his character, and the exalted station he held, Sir William Howe positively denied its truth. Perhaps it would be unjust to ascribe to this officer, who, though somewhat severe in his temper, did not blend in his general system, cruelties which would not have been practised in other wars, a degree of inhumanity to those entirely in his power. Perhaps it would be no more than justice to admit, that his own supplies of provisions, were for a time not the best or most plentiful, and that the American soldiers before being captured were very sickly; but still the excessive mortality which prevailed among them, can be accounted for on no ordinary principles; and those least inclined to criminate have ever been of the opinion, that if his orders did not contribute to the distress, his authority was not interposed with sufficient energy to correct abuses.

The capture of General Lee furnished an additional ground of controversy on the subject of prisoners. As he had been an officer in the British service, whose resignation perhaps had not been received when he entered into the service of America, a disposition was at first manifested to treat him as a deserter and a traitor, rather than as a prisoner of war. He was, therefore, closely confined, but received no other particular hardship. Congress, on obtaining information of this, entered a resolution in which they assured General Howe, that if the exchange which was offered of the six field officers taken at Trenton, for General Lee, should be rejected, and the severe treatment already experienced by him should be continued, Lieutenant Campbell, and five Hessian field officers, should experience pre-

cisely the same treatment. This proposition not having been acceded to, Colonel Campbell, and the five Hessian officers, were put into close confinement, where they were kept until General Lee was allowed the privileges of a prisoner of war.

Difficulties arose relative to the prisoners taken at the Cedars above Montreal, in the province of Lower Canada, on the ground that the terms of the capitulation had been infracted, on the part of the enemy, but it seems that the grounds taken by Congress on this subject were untenable, and that they had acted on false information. The course, however, which they took, although it had an injurious effect on the prisoners in the hands of the enemy, in the end had a salutary tendency.

After the sufferings of the prisoners in New-York, on board of the prison ships, had been extreme, and great numbers had died, the survivors were liberated; but so wretched was their condition, that many of them died on their way home.

The advantages derived by the United States from their little marine, were of signal benefit. Several fortunate captures made by public ships or privateers, afforded very opportune supplies of ammunition for the use of the army, which otherwise could not have acted.

It was not, however, in the capture of ammunition and arms only, that the enterprising naval spirit of the Americans rendered essential service to their country. The non-importation acts and agreements, which preceded the war, had excluded the usual supply of goods, and the internal manufactures could not furnish the deficiency. Hence, the army could not be provided with necessary clothing and blankets. These wants were in some degree relieved by captures from the enemy. The goods thus taken would, at any period, and any state of things, have constituted an item well worth attention; but at this time they were of inestimable value. The prizes made by the Americans in 1776, are estimated by some English writers, at one million sterling, ($4,400,000) and their amount in the United States, is believed to have been more considerable.

Soon after the enemy had taken post in Rhode Island, Commodor Hopkins sailed with his little fleet, to New Providence,

where he made a descent, and seized considerable quantities of military stores.

On the east end of Long Island, Hopkins fell in with the Glasgow, commanded by Captain Howe, carrying twenty nine-pounders, and an engagement ensued, which lasted several hours, but Howe, after having damaged the American vessels, made sail for Newport. In this action the American naval force was very superior to that of the enemy, and on this account Hopkins received a full share of public censure. Whether the censure was well founded or not, we shall not take upon ourselves to decide. Hopkins was a very active man, and had made many captures, and it is not improbable, that in this affair, the enemy were favoured by circumstances which no human foresight could control.

In order to keep up the credit of the country, and meet the expenditures, Congress, in 1775, emitted paper money, and pledged the faith of the American people for its redemption. An opinion was every where entertained, that this pledge would be sacredly observed. In some of the colonies depreciation had never been known, while in others, its baneful effects had been severely experienced. But the general enthusiasm which then prevailed, and the expectation entertained that the contest would be of short duration, outweighed past experience and future apprehension, and gave to this currency an universal circulation. Other circumstances were added, which tended to give it circulation ; Congress passed resolutions of denunciation against all who should dare to discourage others from taking it.

Congress aware, however, that it must in time depreciate, and that there were not means within their reach for its redemption, used their utmost exertions to procrastinate such an event. The emissions, therefore, were at first as small as possible. But it was not in the power of Congress to regulate the amount of paper money which should come into circulation. Every state government possessed or claimed the right of emitting these bills.

The consequences of thus increasing the quantity of bills

put into circulation, were anticipated with trembling apprehensions, while the means for counteracting them could only be recommended.

To economise disbursments, and call in by taxes a part of the sums disbursed, were the only possible means of preventing such an accumulation of paper money, as infallibly to continue its depreciation, until it should entirely cease to be a circulating medium. Congress had not the power of taxation: all it could do was to recommend. The state governments did not like to hazard the imposition of taxes, lest such a measure might give dissatisfaction, which there was reason to believe would be the case, since the contest had been undertaken with the avowed object of opposing taxation. The payment of the first installment of the first emession was postponed to 1779, and taxation was not resorted to before the depreciation had become considerable, and then the remedy was so sparingly applied, as very little to effect the disease.

Taxation, which would have been the only means of retarding the rapid increase of paper money, and sustaining its credit, was, in a great measure, avoided; and in its place artificial substitutes were resorted to.

A loan was proposed to be opened for borrowing five millions of continental dollars, on an interest of four per cent., the principal to be paid in three years.

The scheme of a lottery, in four classes, was also suggested, by which it was proposed to raise one million five hundred thousand dollars.

These experiments were of small avail. No depreciation of consequence ensued before the early part of 1777; and even then, it was not perceived by many. The rise of commodities was supposed to be occasioned by their scarcity: this delusion, however, was soon dissipated.

Congress, who appear to have not matured on the subject, passed a resolution for the purpose of keeping up the value of their bills. In this resolution it was declared, that whoever, in any sale or barter, should rate gold or silver coin higher than their bills, should be considered an enemy to the country, and should

forfeit the value of the money, or other thing. They also recommended to the several states to pass laws to that effect, and also declaring these bills a legal tender in the payment of all debts, and that a refusal should be deemed a liquidation of the debt.

These attempts to regulate, by law, the value of an article depending solely on public opinion, were accompanied by other recommendations.

The public faith had been plighted by Congress for the redemption of their bills. It was, therefore, proposed and recommended to the several states, that they should engage to redeem them at the time fixed on by Congress. Laws were accordingly passed by the states, which met the wishes of Congress.

In the sequel it will be seen that these coercive measures did not produce the desired effect—neither Congress nor the state governments could give a lasting value on that which had no value.

As the contest assumed a more serious aspect, and became better understood, causes of irritation multiplied, and real injuries were sustained.

In the commencement the opposition was to taxation, and the consequences which followed were not generally foreseen or even apprehended. Hence, when an appeal was made to the sword, many who had been clamorous became luke-warm, and were disposed to submit. These men were viewed with contempt, and were called tories. In some instances they became objects of resentment to their neighbours, who were for supporting American independence at all hazards.

In some places these people manifested a disposition to take up arms. In North Carolina they collected in considerable numbers, but were soon dispersed. In New-York a similar disposition was manifested. Considerable numbers of the inhabitants of what was then termed the county of Tryon, were disaffected; and General Schuyler marched into that county with some militia, when a negociation was entered into with Sir John Johnson, their leader, which terminated in a kind of capitulation, in which Sir John Johnson, and the tories in his

neighbourhood, agreed to surrender their arms, and stipulated to take no part in the existing contest.

With respect to persons of this description, the conduct observed at first towards them, was in general mild.

From the first moment that the contest took so serious an aspect as to threaten hostilities, disaffection to the American cause assumed a decided shape, and those under its influence were arranged as a party against those measures which were pursued by the representatives of the people.

The disaffected were the most numerous in the states of New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland. The presence of the British army, in the two former states, and their being the principal theatres of action, no doubt had an influence in augmenting the numbers. Perhaps the other states would have afforded the same aspect had they been invaded by such numerous armies. In addition to all this, the state of New-York had very extended frontiers, which were menaced not only with invasion from the enemy, but by irruptions from the Indians. No wonder then that many of the inhabitants along the frontiers, and on the coast, should have had an apathy to the war, and an inclination to aid the enemy, whom they believed irresistible.

See Marshall's Life of Washington, Williams' History of Vermont, and Ramsey's History of the Revolution.

CHAPTER VI.

The enemy concentrates his forces in New-Jersey after the battles of Trenton and Princeton—Stores at Danbury burnt—Operations between the Americans, under Washington, and the British, under General Howe—New-York invaded, on the side of Canada, by the British, under Burgoyne—Proclamation of Burgoyne—Great exertions by General Schuyler to oppose the enemy—Ticonderoga invested—The Americans abandon Ticonderoga and Mount Independence—Combat between the Americans, under Colonel Warner, and the British, under General Frazer, at Hubbardton—Disorderly retreat of General St. Clair—Burgoyne proceeds up Lake Champlain, with the main army, to White Hall—The Americans, under St. Clair, retreat to Fort Ann—General Schuyler causes all the bridges between White Hall and Sandy Hill to be destroyed, and the road to be obstructed, by falling trees across it—Americans fall back on Fort Edward—Reinforcements are sent on to General Schuyler—The Americans retire to Saratoga—Burgoyne reaches Sandy Hill—General Schuyler retires to Stillwater, and afterwards to the islands at the mouth of the Mohawk—St. Leger invests Fort Stanwix—The Mohawk militia are totally defeated at Oriskinny, while on their way to relieve the garrison of Fort Stanwix—General Arnold detached by General Schuyler to the relief of Fort Stanwix—His arrival at Fort Dayton—Incident of Hon Yost Schuyler—St. Leger raises the siege, and retires to Oswego—Defeat of Colonel Baum near Bennington—Murder of Miss M'Crea—General Schuyler advances to meet Burgoyne—Is superseded by General Gates—Battle on the 19th of September, between the Americans and British—Battle on the 5th of October—Positions of the armies—Retreat of Burgoyne and surrender—Sir Henry Clinton takes Forts Clinton, Montgomery, Constitution, &c.—General Vaughan sails up the Hudson, and burns Kingston, &c.

1777.—The enemy, after the battles of Trenton and Princeton, retired to Brunswick and Amboy, on Rariton River, where he concentrated his forces, thus leaving almost the whole state in the same situation it was before the opening of the campaign. The American army was now so much reduced, that it was unable to act efficiently. In the mean time, however, it was augmented by detachments of militia from New-Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, and offensive operations were resumed. Skirmishes almost every day ensued. In these the Americans generally had the advantage.

General Heath moved from his camp at Peekskill to the vicinity of Kingsbridge, and threatened an invasion of York island. This had a beneficial effect, for General Clinton returned to New-York with most of his forces.

During the winter, magazines of provisions, and other stores, had been laid up in the Highlands, from whence the American garrisons, and other troops stationed on the Hudson, might draw their supplies. Peekskill, on the river, about fifty miles north of the city of New-York, had served as a kind of post. Mills had been erected, and some troops were in general cantoned here. General Howe, learning that the force at this place under General M'Dougal did not exceed two hundred and fifty men, sent Colonel Bird, on the twenty-third of March, up the river, with five hundred men, against it. This officer, being accompanied by a frigate and some other armed vessels, arrived, and, before the whole of the stores could be removed, took the place, whereby the stores were mostly destroyed. The enemy soon embarked, in consequence of an attack made on his outposts by Colonel Willet.

At Danbury, on the western frontier of Connecticut, military stores to a considerable amount had likewise been collected. This place is about twenty miles from the Sound, and was supposed to be out of the enemy's reach. Against Danbury, however, an expedition was projected, and two thousand five hundred men, mostly provincials in the British service, under the command of Governor Tryon, assisted by Generals Agnew and Sir William Erskine, were employed in it.

On the evening of the twenty-fifth of April, Tryon landed his forces at Campo, between Fairfield and Norwalk. General Silliman immediately sent expresses to alarm and call out the militia. Meanwhile the enemy proceeded, almost without interruption, to Danbury, which they reached about two o'clock the next day; and which place, with the magazines it contained, they set on fire and destroyed. Colonel Huntington, who was in the town with one hundred and fifty men, retired to a neighbouring height, where he awaited the arrival of the militia that were assembling. General Arnold, who was in the vicinity, joined General Silliman at Reading, where five hundred militia had collected. General Wooster, with some men, fell in with them, and they proceeded to Bethel, eight miles from Danbury. Here they divided their men, and General Wooster, with three hundred, attacked their rear, while General Arnold, with five hundred, engaged their van. Wooster was mortally wounded, and General Arnold was forced to retreat.—The enemy then encamped for the night at Ridgefield, which they also fired. The next day they resumed their march, but were greatly annoyed by General Arnold, who had got together upwards of one thousand men. They, however, effected their retreat to their vessels, and re-embarked. The loss sustained by the enemy in this inroad, amounted to one hundred and seventy, and that of the Americans to about one hundred. Besides General Wooster, Colonel Gould fell. Colonel Lamb was among the wounded.

The destruction of the stores at Danbury was severely felt; but the enemy derived no advantage by this sudden inroad. It served rather to rouse the inhabitants, and make them more active in the cause of independence. The opposition which the enemy experienced in his retreat, demonstrated how difficult it would be to overrun a small part of New England.

This inroad was, not long afterwards, retaliated. The enemy had collected forage and provisions to a large amount, at the east end of Long Island.

General Parsons, who had collected some recruits at New Haven, dispatched Colonel Meiggs, with two hundred and thirty

men, in thirteen whale boats, on this service. Colonel Meiggs reached the place on the twenty-fourth of May, surprised the enemy, burnt the stores and some small vessels, killed six men, and took ninety prisoners, without the loss of one man. Never was an enterprise conducted with more secrecy, or carried into effect with more success.

Congress, feeling apprehensive that the enemy would attack Philadelphia, passed a resolution, on the tenth of April, that a camp should be immediately formed on the western side of the Delaware, to which the continental troops in Philadelphia, and those on their march from the south and west should repair.

These forces were, however, soon after ordered to march into New-Jersey, and join those under the command of Washington, who was forming a camp on strong grounds near the Rariton. In the mean time the camp near Philadelphia was occupied by militia. The northern forces were mostly at Peekskill and Ticonderoga. Those at Rariton, under Washington, were designed to cover New-Jersey and Philadelphia on one side, and afford aid to those troops at Peekskill, in case the enemy should endeavour to make himself master of the Hudson and its passes, while those at Ticonderoga were to oppose General Burgoyne, should he invade New-York. Such seems to have been the disposition of the American armies in the middle and northern states, and such their plan of operations.

The camp near Rariton was ten miles from Brunswick, and north of the road leading from New-York to Philadelphia, by Princeton. This position was very strong, and could not be approached without great difficulty. The American army in New-Jersey, on the twenty-first of May, amounted to about ten thousand men, over and above five thousand militia, then in the field, belonging to that state. Washington joined the army on the twenty-eighth. General Sullivan lay at Princeton with a body of continentals, which were daily increasing, by the arrival of recruits from the southward, and the militia of New-Jersey, who were coming in.

The first and real object of the campaign, on the part of General Howe, was the acquisition of Philadelphia. But it

was uncertain what route he would take, since there were three. One was across New-Jersey, another up Delaware bay and river, and the third by the Chesapeake.

General Howe resolved on the first route, in case he could draw the American army from its strong position, and bring it to battle, but if he could not do this, then he determined to embark his army on board of vessels, and proceed by the others. Having then settled the plan of the campaign, he crossed over about the first of June into New-Jersey, and marched with his army to Brunswick, giving strong indications of penetrating through the country to the Delaware, and thence to Philadelphia. Washington immediately ordered all the troops at Peekskill, but one thousand men, to come to his assistance. He directed Colonel Morgan, with his riflemen, to take post at Vanvighton's bridge, on Rariton, just above its conflux with Millstone river. General Sullivan was commanded to change his position, and occupy the high grounds on Rock Hill.

Early in the morning of the fourteenth of June, the British army, leaving two thousand men under General Matthews at Brunswick, advanced in two columns towards the Delaware. The front of the first, under Lord Cornwallis, reached Somerset court-house, nine miles from Brunswick, by daylight; and the second, under General de Heister, about the same time reached Middlebush. This movement was made by General Howe, in order to induce Washington to quit his camp and approach the Delaware, in which event he hoped to bring him to a general engagement; but Washington, aware of his object, kept his position.

Finding that the American commander could not be drawn from his strong position, in which he deemed it unsafe to attack him. General Howe decamped, and returned to Amboy, where he passed some of his troops over to Staten Island. Several detachments from the American army were sent in pursuit of him.

On the night of the twenty-fifth, General Howe recalled those troops that had passed over to Staten Island, and early next morning, marched his whole army, in two columns, towards

Westfield. The right, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, took the route by Woodbridge, to the Scotch Plains, and the left, under the immediate command of General Howe, marched by Metucking meeting-house. It was intended that the right should attack the left flank of the American army, at Quibbletown; while Lord Cornwallis should gain the heights on the left of the camp at Middlebrook. Four battalions were detached to Bonhamtown. About Woodbridge, the right column of the enemy fell in with one of the American parties, detached to watch their motions. Washington, on notice of this, put the whole army instantly in motion, and regained his camp at Middlebrook. Lord Cornwallis fell in with Lord Stirling, and a smart skirmish ensued, in which the latter had to retreat to the hills, about the Scotch meeting-house, and from thence to Westfield. Here Lord Cornwallis halted, and finding the passes in the mountains guarded, he retired to Amboy, and the whole British army passed over to Staten Island.

Before General Howe had developed his views, the army of General Burgoyne made its appearance on Lake Champlain, and menaced Ticonderoga. On hearing this, General Nixon, who was at Peekskill, embarked his brigade, and proceeded up the Hudson, to Albany.

Meanwhile, General Howe embarked his army, and soon after sailed for Delaware and Chesapeake bays, from whence he proposed to march to Philadelphia.

1777.—We shall return to the north, and examine the operations in that quarter. In the spring of 1777, General Burgoyne, who had served under General Carleton, in the preceding campaign, returned from England, and assumed the command in Canada. Every thing being in a measure ready for the invasion of New-York, he took immediate steps to carry it into execution. The regular forces allotted for this expedition, amounted to seven thousand one hundred and thirteen men, British and Germans, exclusive of the corps of artillery; of these, the Germans amounted to three thousand two hundred and seventeen. Large additions were expected from the Canadians and Indians; and arms and accoutrements were provided

to supply the royalists, who were expected to join in large numbers. An excellent train of brass artillery was furnished for the campaign. In the execution of the proposed invasion General Burgoyne was to be assisted by several of the ablest and best officers then in service. Among these were Major-general Phillips, of the artillery; Brigadier-generals Frazer, Powel and Hamilton, of the British army, and Major-general Reidesel, and Brigadier-generel Specht, of the German auxiliaries. The army, in every respect, was in the best condition that could be desired—the troops were in high spirits, healthy and well disciplined.

To facilitate the operations of the army under General Burgoyne, an expedition was projected against the Mohawk country, by the way of Oswego, the command of which was given to Colonel St. Ledger. The troops designed for this expedition, amounted to eight hundred men, exclusive of a large body of Indians.

The main army under Burgoyne, embarked at St. Johns, and proceeded up Lake Champlain without interruption, and soon arrived and encamped at the river Boquet, on the west side of the lake, and a little to the north of Crown Point, at the place now called Willsborough. There the Indians had also assembled, and General Burgoyne, in conformity to their customs, gave them a war-feast. On the twenty-first of June, he made a speech to them, calculated to rouse their martail disposition, but he enjoined on them not to kill any except those who should be opposed to them in arms. He promised them a liberal compensation for all prisoners they should take and bring in, but none for scalps.

The American army which was to oppose this formidable invasion, was encamped at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. General Schuyler, on whom the sole command devolved, after the departure of General Gates for the south, had been indefatigable during the winter and spring, in providing for the wants of the army, and in making arrangements for the campaign. He visited, in person, the different posts, and made every exertion to meet the enemy. General Schuyler, after

having examined the works at Ticonderoga, left the command with St. Clair, and returned to Fort Edward, a more central situation, where he established his head-quarters.

On the fourth of July, General Burgoyne issued a proclamation, designed to act on the fears and hopes of the people of the country through which he intended to march. After a short stay at Crown Point, Burgoyne moved on with his army to Ticonderoga.

This fortress lies on the western shore of Lake Champlain, at the place where the outlet of Lake George enters, and about twelve miles south of Crown Point. Lake Champlain and the outlet of Lake George wash it on three sides, while a marsh and ditch, with a bank, cover the other side. The Americans had strengthened the French lines with additional works and a block-house. They had erected other posts with works and block-houses, on the left, towards Lake George; and to the right of the French lines, two new block-houses, and other works had been added. On the eastern shore of the inlet, and opposite to Ticonderoga, there is a high circular hill, which they had occupied and fortified. To this they gave the name of Mount Independence. On the summit of this hill they had constructed a star fort, enclosing a large square of barracks, well fortified and supplied with artillery. The foot of the hill, which, on the west side, projects into the lake, was strongly intrenched to the edge of the water, and the intrenchments were well lined with heavy artillery. A battery, about half way up the hill, sustained and covered these lower works. These two posts had, with infinite labour, been joined together by a bridge of communication, thrown over the lake. This bridge of communication was supported by twenty-two sunk piers, of very large timber, placed nearly at equal distances; the spaces between these were filled with separate floats, each about fifty feet long and twelve wide, strongly fastened together with chains and rivets, and as strongly connected with the sunken pillars. The north side of the bridge was defended by a boom of very large pieces of timber, fastened together by riveted bolts and double chains, made of iron, an inch and a-half

square. By this work, a communication was not only maintained between the posts, but all access by water was totally cut off from the northern side; but this arduous work was not finished when the enemy arrived before the lines.

This part of Lake Champlain, and thence to its head, is a mere strait.

But, notwithstanding the apparent strength of Ticonderoga, it was effectually overlooked and commanded by a portion of the Palmertown mountain, called by some Sugar Hill, and by others Mount Defiance. This mountain, by its proximity and elevation, had such an entire command both of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, that an enemy might, from thence, have counted the numbers, and enfiladed every part of the works. This circumstance was well known to the American officers, and they had a consultation about fortifying this mountain; but it was declined, because their works were already so extensive that, with the addition of what would be proper on Mount Defiance, they would require ten or twelve thousand men for the defence, a much greater number than were there then. Instead of a full compliment of troops to man the extensive lines, and defend the numerous works, the whole force which General St. Clair had, did not exceed three thousand five hundred men, including militia, and these not well armed.

From Crown Point, the British army advanced on both sides of the lake; the naval force keeping its station in the centre, the frigate and gun-boats cast anchor just out of cannon shot from the American works. On the near approach of the right wing, which advanced on the west side of the lake, on the second of July, the Americans abandoned, and set fire to their works, block-houses and saw mills, towards Lake George; and without attempting any serious opposition, suffered General Phillips to take possession of Mount Hope. This post commanded the American lines in a great degree, and cut off their communication with Lake George. The enemy charged the Americans on this occasion, with supineness and want of vigor; but this charge smees not well-founded; they

had not men enough to make any effectual opposition to the powerful force which threatened to enclose them.

In the mean time, the British army proceeded with such expedition, in the construction of their works, the bringing up of their artillery, stores, and provisions, and the establishment of posts and communications, that by the fifth, matters were so far advanced, as to require but one or two days more to completely invest the posts on both sides of the lake. Mount Defiance had also been examined, and the advantages which it presented were so important, that it had been determined to take possession, and erect a battery there. This work, though attended with extreme difficulty and labour, had been carried on by General Phillips with much expedition and success. A road had been made over very rough ground, to the top of the mount; and the enemy were at work in constructing a level for a battery, and transporting their cannon. As soon as this battery should be ready to play, the American works would have been completely invested on all sides.

The situation of General St. Clair was now very critical. He called a council of war, to deliberate on measures to be taken. He informed them, that their whole effective number was not sufficient to man one half of the works; that as the whole must be constantly on duty, it would be impossible for them to endure the fatigue for any considerable length of time; that General Schuyler, who was then at Fort Edward, had not sufficient forces to relieve them; and that, as the enemy's batteries were nearly ready to open upon them, and the place would be completely invested in twenty-four hours, nothing could save the troops but an immediate evacuation of the posts.

It was proposed that the baggage of the army, with such artillery stores and provisions, as the necessity of the occasion would admit, should be embarked with a strong detachment on board of two hundred batteaux, and dispatched under convoy of five armed galleys, up the lake to Skeensborough, (White Hall,) and that the main body of the army should proceed by land, taking its route on the road to Castleton, which was about thirty miles southeast of Ticonderoga, and join the boats and

galleys at Skeensborough. It was thought necessary to keep the matter a secret till the time should come, when it was to be executed. Hence, the necessary preparations could not be made, and it was not possible to prevent irregularity and disorder, in the different embarkations and movements of the troops.

About two o'clock in the morning of July the sixth, General St. Clair left Ticonderoga, and about three, the troops at Mount Independence were put in motion. The house which had been occupied by General de Fermoy, was, contrary to orders, set on fire. This afforded complete information to the enemy of what was going forward, and enabled them to see every movement of the Americans—at the same time, it impressed the latter with such an idea of discovery and danger, as precipitated them into great disorder. About four o'clock, Colonel Francis brought off the rear-guard, and conducted their retreat in a regular manner; and soon after, some of the regiments, through the exertions of their officers, recovered from their confusion. When the troops arrived at Hubbardton they were halted for nearly two hours, and the rear-guard was increased by many who did not at first belong to it, but were picked up on the road, having been unable to keep up with their regiments. The rear-guard was here put under the command of Colonel Seth Warner, with orders to follow the army, as soon as the whole came up, and to halt about a mile and a-half short of the main body. The army then proceeded to Castleton, about six miles farther—Colonel Warner, with the rear-guard and stragglers, remaining at Hubbardton.

The retreat of the Americans from Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, was no sooner perceived by the British, than General Frazer began an eager pursuit with his brigade. Major-general Reidesel was ordered to join in the pursuit with the greater part of his Germans. General Frazer continued the pursuit through the day, and having received intelligence that the rear of the American army was at no great distance, ordered his men to lie that night upon their arms. On July seventh, at five in the morning, he came up with Colonel War-

ner, who had about one thousand men. The British advanced boldly to the attack, and the two bodies formed within sixty yards of each other. The conflict was fierce and bloody. Colonel Francis fell at the head of his regiment, fighting with great gallantry. Warner was so well supported by his officers and men, that the assailants broke and gave way. They soon, however, recovered from their disorder, formed again, and charged the Americans with the bayonet, when they, in their turn, were put into disorder; these, however, rallied and returned to the charge, and the issue of the battle became dubious. At that moment, General Reidesel appeared with the advance party of his Germans. These being led into action, soon decided the fortune of the day, and the Americans had to retreat. The loss, in this action, was very considerable on the American side. Colonel Hale, who had not brought his regiment, which consisted of militia, into action, although ordered so to do, in attempting to escape by flight, fell in with an inconsiderable party of the enemy, and surrendered himself, and a number of his men, prisoners. In killed, wounded and prisoners, the Americans lost in this action, three hundred and twenty four men, and the British one hundred and eighty-three in killed and wounded.

Confiding in General Frazer to conduct the pursuit of the Americans by land, General Burgoyne undertook to direct the chase by water. The boom, and other obstructions to the navigation of the lake, not being completed, were soon cut through; and so engaged were the British in this business, that by nine o'clock in the morning the gun boats, the Royal George, and Inflexible frigates, had passed the works. Several regiments embarked aboard the vessels and transports, and the pursuit was pushed with such vigour, that by three in the afternoon, the foremost brigade of gunboats overtook and engaged with the American galleys near Skeensborough (White Hall.) Upon the approach of the frigates, all opposition ceased; two of the galleys were taken, and the other three blown up. The Americans not being in sufficient force to make a stand, set fire to the batteaux, mills, fort and works, and retired towards

Fort Ann, where they were joined by a detachment which had been sent by General Schuyler from Fort Edward. This party of Americans was commanded by Colonel Long. In the mean time, Colonel Hill was detached by General Burgoyne, with the ninth regiment towards Fort Ann, with a view to intercept Colonel Long on his way to that fort. On his march, near Fort Ann, he was attacked by the Americans under Colonel Long, in front, with a heavy and well directed fire; while another party was preparing to fall on his rear. Colonel Hill, aware of his danger, retired to a hill to prevent being surrounded, and in this situation was vigorously attacked by such numbers, that he was in danger of being cut to pieces. At this critical juncture, a reinforcement arrived, which rendered it necessary for Colonel Long to retire. On leaving Fort Ann, he set fire to the works and made good his retreat to Fort Edward.

General St. Clair received intelligence of the disaster at Skeensborough, about the same time that news came to him of Warner's defeat. To avoid the enemy, it was now necessary for him to change his route, and he sent orders to Colonel Warner, to join him at Rutland. Here he fell in with many soldiers, who had been separated from the army, and two days afterwards he was joined by Colonel Warner, at the head of about ninety men. After dispatching officers to Bennington and other places, to stop and collect the stragglers, he proceeded to join General Schuyler at Fort Edward.

The loss sustained by the Americans, in their retreat from Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, was very heavy. One hundred and twenty-eight pieces of cannon, 349,760 pounds of flour, 143,830 pounds of salt provisions, a large drove of cattle, all their batteaux, vessels, and magazines.

At Stillwater, on his way to Ticonderoga, General Schuyler was informed of the evacuation of that place, and at Saratoga the total loss of the stores at Skeensborough was also reported to him. From General St. Clair he had heard nothing, and the most serious apprehensions were entertained for the army commanded by that officer. General Schuyler,

on reaching Fort Edward, found himself at the head of only fifteen hundred continentals, and about the same number of militia.

After the evacuation of Fort Ann, General Burgoyne found it absolutely necessary to suspend for a time all further pursuit, in order to give his army some respite. In the active service in which they had been engaged, many of the soldiers had been two days without provisions, and they were all without tents. The troops were in some derangement; distinct corps were intermingled, and the detachments were far apart. He, therefore, determined to halt a few days at Skeensborough, in order to re-assemble his army and arrange it. The baggage, artillery, and military stores were brought up; and preparations were made, with the utmost dispatch, to move forward to Albany.

In the present state of things, General Schuyler, being unable to meet the enemy, resolved to throw obstructions in his way. and thereby gain time.

The country between Skeensborough and Fort Edward was almost entirely unsettled, and covered with woods. In addition to this, that part along Wood Creek was broken and intersected by sharp ridges, and abounded with swamps and creeks. As far as Fort Ann, Wood Creek was navigable with batteaux, and of course was useful in the transportation of cannon, military stores, provisions, and heavy baggage.

For this purpose, the day after the action at Fort Ann, General Schuyler ordered a brigade of militia to destroy the roads; to begin the work as near as possible to the place where the fort stood, to fall the trees across the road, take up the bridges, and throw all the obstructions in the way imaginable. On the sixteenth of July he ordered a brigade of continentals on the same business, and these, with the militia, laboured with much industry and good success in falling trees. He was also indefatigable in causing all the cattle to be driven out of the way of the enemy, and in removing from Fort George to Fort Edward, all the military stores which had been collected there, of which his army was in much need, and which it

was very essential to remove, before the enemy could reach that post.

When General St. Clair had joined General Schuyler at Fort Edward, the American army amounted to only four thousand and four hundred men. While thus endeavouring to obstruct the march of the enemy, General Schuyler was not inattentive to the best means of strengthening his own army. Reinforcements of regular troops were earnestly solicited. The militia of New-York and New England were called for, and all his influence in the surrounding country was exerted to re-animate the people, and prevent their defection. As a mean of creating some additional delay in the movements of the enemy, he directed Colonel Warner to take post, with his regiment, on their left flank, in what was then termed the New Hampshire Grants, now Vermont, with instructions to raise the militia in that quarter. General Schuyler hoped, that the appearance of a respectable military force menacing their flank and rear, would induce the enemy to strengthen the garrison of Ticonderoga, and would also retard the advance of his main army.

While at Skeensborough, (White Hall) General Burgoyne issued a second proclamation, summoning the people of the adjacent country to send ten deputies from each township to meet Colonel Skeen at Castleton, in order to deliberate on such measures as might still be adopted to save from destruction those who had not yet conformed to his first proclamation, and submitted to the royal authority. Apprehending some injurious effects from this proclamation, General Schuyler issued a counter one, stating to the inhabitants the insidious designs of the enemy, warning them by the example of New-Jersey, of the danger to which their yielding would expose them; and forbidding them, in the most solemn manner, to send deputies.

The evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, was an event for which no part of the United States was prepared. Neither the strength of the invading army, nor of the garrisons had been any where understood. The opinion was common, that the enemy's forces did not exceed five thousand men. The garrisons, it was generally supposed, nearly equalled

the enemy in numbers. A very few days before those places were invested, General Schuyler, from an inspection of the muster rolls, had stated the garrison at five thousand men, and the provisions abundant. When, therefore, it was understood that places, on the fortifications of which much money and labour had been expended; and which were considered as the keys to the northern states, and supposed to contain garrisons nearly or quite equal to the invading army, had been abandoned without a siege; that an immense train of artillery, consisting of one hundred and twenty-eight pieces, and all the baggage, military stores, and provisions, had either fallen into the hands of the enemy or been destroyed; that the army on its retreat had been attacked, defeated, and dispersed, astonishment pervaded all ranks of men; and the conduct of the officers was universally condemned. Congress directed a recall of all the generals of the department, and an inquiry into their conduct.

The conduct of St. Clair was very extraordinary; he had omitted to call in reinforcements in time; he had delayed the evacuation of the forts, till it was impossible to remove the cannon, military stores and baggage; he had foreseen none of the enemy's measures, nor had he taken any steps to guard against them. Hence, every step which he took after the evacuation was determined on, was marked with indecision and the most consummate folly. He seems not to have possessed a genius that finds relief in instantaneous resource, decisive council, or animating action.

In the mean time, great exertions were made to reinforce the northern army. The utmost industry was used to procure a supply of tents; artillery and ammunition were sent from Massachusetts, and the remaining troops of that state were ordered upon that service. General Lincoln was directed to raise and take command of the New England militia. General Arnold was ordered to the northern army, in the hope that his presence would serve to reanimate the troops; Colonel Morgan, with his riflemen, was detached on the same service, and the militia of the state of New-York were called out.

Having allowed a short repose to his army, while parties

were employed in bringing up the tents and provisions, General Burgoyne, elated at the success which had hitherto attended him, proceeded with ardour to complete the remaining objects of the campaign. He soon perceived the toils and delays which must be encountered before he could reach the Hudson. He found it necessary to remove the obstructions in Wood Creek, in order to ascend it with boats, and also to clear the road of the fallen timber, and render it passable from the navigable parts of Wood Creek to Hudson's River. These works were much more difficult than he had anticipated, and so very slow were the operations, that he did not reach the Hudson until the thirtieth day of July, although the distance is only twenty-two miles. And even after he had reached the Hudson, he had to halt until his batteaux, provisions, artillery and other materials, necessary to enable him to proceed in the expedition, arrived.

The time afforded by this delay, had been employed by Schuyler to the utmost advantage. Some reinforcements of continentals had been received from Peekskill; and though the critical season of the year, it being harvest time, together with the dislike to him prevailing in New England, prevented the militia from turning out in considerable numbers, they appeared in sufficient force to make a respectable addition to the regular army. But the loss of all the salt provisions was severely felt. Unaccustomed to the use of fresh meat only, the American soldiers when confined to it, became very sickly; and this cause tended still more to diminish a force already too inconsiderable to afford a reasonable prospect of success, in a contest with the enemy opposed to them. On this account, as Burgoyne approached Fort Edward, General Schuyler retired over the Hudson to Saratoga, a few miles below that place.

From thence General Lincoln was dispatched to take the command of the militia, which were then assembling at Manchester, under Colonel Warner.

From Saratoga, General Schuyler retired to Stillwater, and thence to Watervliet, and took a position, which he caused to be strongly fortified.

Meanwhile he ordered General Lincoln to join him. Very soon after, being informed that Burgoyne had evacuated Castleton, so that there was no longer any communication kept up with Ticonderoga, but through Lake George, and that the garrison of that important place consisted of only three hundred men, he countermanded the orders which he had given to General Lincoln, and directed him to march, with the New England militia under his command, amounting to between two and three thousand men, and, if possible, take that place, and destroy the enemy's communication with Lake Champlain. This movement he supposed would compel General Burgoyne to weaken his army, by sending detachments either to reinforce the posts in his rear, or to attack General Lincoln.

About the same time too he was informed that Colonel St. Leger, with a large detachment of regulars, tories, and Indians, had penetrated from Fort Oswego, on Lake Ontario, by the way of Oswego and Oneida Rivers, Oneida Lake, and Wood Creek, to the upper part of the Mohawk, and had began to besiege Fort Stanwix. The fort was too weak to hold out any considerable time against a regular siege, and it therefore became necessary to attempt an immediate relief. General Schuyler ordered General Herkimer to assemble the militia of Tryon county, and proceed without delay to its relief. This officer, who seems to have had little experience in military affairs, set out with eight hundred men. St. Leger, on being informed of his approach, detached Sir John Johnson, with a regiment of tories, and all the Indians then in his service, to oppose him. The whole country, for eight miles east of Utica, and so westwardly to Fort Stanwix, except a small space around a block-house, at the place where Utica now stands, was covered with thick woods, and traversed by only a single road. Sir John Johnson, finding that General Herkimer marched without taking those precautions so necessary to the safety of an army advancing through woods, laid an ambuscade for this general and his militia, a little west of Oriskinny, into which the Americans were unfortunately drawn, and totally defeated, on the sixth day of August. The loss, besides the general and seve-

ral committee-men, and leading political characters, amounted to four hundred men, most of whom were killed. The slaughter was prevented from being rendered still more terrible, by the very timely sortie made by the brave Lieutenant-colonel Willet, which checked the pursuit, and recalled the enemy to the defence of their own camp.

Fort Stanwix was garrisoned by about six hundred continental troops, from New-York and Massachusetts, under the command of Colonel Gansevoort. The besieging army, under St. Leger, consisted of sixteen or eighteen hundred men, composed of British, tories, Canadians, and Indians. On his first appearance, Colonel St. Leger demanded an immediate surrender, but Colonel Gansevoort answered, that he intended to defend the fort to the last extremity. In this sortie Colonel Willet led only two hundred men, yet it was so unexpected, and the movements of this gallant officer were so rapid and vigorous, that the enemy fled from his lines, and sought refuge in the woods; and the party returned into the fort with many muskets, blankets, kettles, and other things, which they took. A party of regulars endeavoured to form an ambuscade in the woods, which, in a measure, at this time, environed the camp, in order to cut off his retreat; but he discovered and defeated the attempt. With a field-piece, which accompanied him, he played on them with grape-shot, in addition to which he attacked them with musketry, and entirely dispersed them; after which he returned into the fort, without the loss of a man, having killed several of the enemy, among whom were some Indian chiefs.

Elated as highly with the defeat of Herkimer, as the French had been with the defeat of Braddock, between whose defeats there seems to have been a strong analogy, Colonel St. Leger made a second demand upon Colonel Gansevoort, requiring him to surrender the fort, and manifesting the danger to which both the garrison and country would be exposed from the resentment of the Indians, his allies, in case of further resistance; a resentment which he had with infinite difficulty repressed for the moment; but which he should be unable longer to restrain,

if the opposition should be continued. This message, which was at first verbal, and sent by Colonel Butler, Colonel Gansevoort refused to receive; and the demand was the next day made in writing. Colonel Gansevoort with firmness replied, that being intrusted by the United States to defend the place, he should do it to the last.

On receiving this answer, the firing on the fort was resumed, and St. Leger addressed a letter to General Burgoyne, informing him of the utter defeat of the militia of the Mohawk country. The militia, he said, and very truly, could not rally again to molest him, and his only apprehensions were from continental troops, who might come up the Mohawk to the relief of the fort. He, therefore, suggested a rapid movement on the American army below him.

In order, if possible, to rouse the militia, who had become considerably depressed by the recent bad conducted expedition, Colonel Willet and Lieutenant Stockwill undertook a very dangerous affair. They passed by night through the besiegers' camp and works, crawling on their hands and knees for nearly half a mile, till they reached the river: in despite of every danger and the watchfulness of the enemy, they arrived safely at Germanflats, where they succeeded in collecting a few militia.

General Schuyler, as soon as he heard of the defeat of the militia of the Mohawk country, and the imminent danger of the garrison at Fort Stanwix, and the exposed situation of the frontiers in that quarter, detached General Arnold, with three continental regiments, to raise the siege. This general set out from Stillwater about the fifteenth of August, and proceeded up the Mohawk, as far as Fort Dayton, near the confluence of the Mohawk and West Canada Creek.

Meanwhile Colonel St. Leger detached Captain Butler with a party of men to Germanflats, then in the country of Tryon, to summon the inhabitants to surrender and submit to his Britannic Majesty's government. On the arrival of Butler in the upper part of the present town of Germanflats, he sent out Hon Yost Schuyler, a refugee, with twelve men, to reconnoitre and gain intelligence. Schuyler and his companions were

made prisoners and carried to Fort Dayton. Here Schuyler was tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to death. His mother, Elizabeth Schuyler, on hearing of the trial and condemnation of her son, repaired immediately from Fall Hill to Fort Dayton, in order to intercede with the general to spare him. General Arnold, being deeply affected with the entreaties and tears of the mother, told her that he would pardon her son, Hon Yost, provided he would go forthwith to the camp of St. Leger, at Fort Stanwix, and circulate a report, that he, General Arnold, was advancing by forced marches with two thousand men, to the relief of the garrison, and that he would be there in twenty-four hours. To this, the mother and Hon Yost, her son, agreed, but the general required a hostage. This increased the mother's anxiety for the fate of her son. She did not know what to do. The general would not take her, although she solicited him so to do with many tears. In this dilemma, her son Nicholas offered himself as a hostage for his brother, and for the faithful performance of what the general required, declaring that he was willing to suffer death in lieu of his brother, in case his brother did not do every thing required. The gallant general, struck with the proposition of Nicholas, accepted of it.—Hon Yost was sent forthwith to the camp of St. Leger, while Nicholas was taken into custody, and kept under a guard. In the mean time, Hon Yost proceeded with all possible dispatch to Fort Stanwix, and arrived there very early the next morning. His companions, who knew of his captivity, and who never expected to see him again, were overjoyed at his return. They inquired of him how he had escaped, and asked him many questions; to all of which he replied with promptness. He told them that Arnold was on his march for that place, with two thousand men, and would be there in a few hours. These tidings were instantly carried to Colonel St. Leger, who sent and had Hon Yost brought to his tent. Here he was interrogated, and gave the same information which he had to his companions. St. Leger, thereupon, called a council, in which it was resolved to raise the siege without delay, and retreat down Wood Creek. No time was lost in carrying this resolution into effect,

as the Colonel gave implicit credit to every thing that Hon Yost told him. The retreat was made in such haste, that the tents were left standing, and every thing abandoned, except what the men could carry on their backs. The retreat was on the twenty-second day of August. Hon Yost accompanied the army of St. Ledger to the mouth of Wood Creek, where he deserted and returned to Fort Stanwix, and thence to Fort Dayton, when his brother was released from confinement, to the no small joy of his mother and relations. Such was the result of the siege of Fort Stanwix. Good sometimes grows out of evil. Hon Yost Schuyler had taken up arms against his country; had been made a prisoner and condemned to death; but owing to his mother, and the policy of General Arnold, was made the instrument of inducing the enemy to raise the siege of Fort Stanwix, whose brave garrison was reduced to great straits.

General Burgoyne, who had been incessantly employed from the thirtieth of July, in bringing forward batteaux, provisions and ammunition from Fort George, to the nearest navigable part of the Hudson, a distance of fifteen miles, was already informed of the arrival of Colonel St. Leger, before Fort Stanwix. But the obstacles to his further progress, now multiplied every day, and each step produced new embarrassments.

Not more than one-third of the draught horses contracted for in Canada, had arrived. This was not imputable to any neglect in those to whom the agency of that business had been confided, but to the natural accidents attending so long and intricate land and water carriage. General Schuyler had taken the precaution to remove as much as possible, out of his reach, the draught horses and cattle of the country, so that from this service, his supplies were by no means such as some of his friends had induced him to expect, and altogether inadequate to his wants. He had, indeed, secured fifty ox teams, but such was the badness of the roads, rendered much worse by the great quantities of rain which had fallen, that it was often necessary to employ five or six yoke of oxen in the transporta-

tion of a single batteaux. Even with these aids and unremitting labour, he had only brought over twelve batteaux into the Hudson, and provisions for the army for four days, in advance, by the fifteenth of August.

An immediate and rapid movement down the Hudson, had suggested itself to the British general, as a measure of the utmost importance. In that event the American army would not, he conceived, march up the Mohawk country, because such a movement would place it between his army and that of St. Leger, and would leave Albany totally uncovered. It must, therefore, either hazard a general action, retreat before him, or cross the Hudson and fall back upon New England. Either of these events he considered as opening the whole Mohawk country to St. Leger, and securing a junction of the two armies.

The great difficulty attending the execution of his plan, and which alone embarrassed him, was how to provision his army until it should reach the fertile country below him. The difficulty of drawing supplies from Lake George, would every day increase with the distance and additional portage; and the communication already endangered by a large body of militia assembling at White creek, could only be secured by larger detachments from his army, than he was in a condition to make. The proposed movement, therefore, must either be abandoned, or some other mode of supply attempted. The latter part of the alternative was embraced.

It was well known, that the principal part of the live cattle, with which the American army was supplied, was drawn from New England, and passed through Manchester, Arlington, and other parts of the Hampshire Grants, to Bennington, from whence they were occasionally conveyed to the American camp. A large depot of corn and carriages had been collected and made at the same place, which was generally guarded by some militia. The possession of these magazines would enable him to prosecute his further plans, without a reliance on supplies from Lake George, and he determined, if practicable, to surprise and seize them.

Lieutenant-colonel Baum, with five hundred Germans, some provincials and Canadians, and more than one hundred Indians, was sent on this service. To facilitate the operations of Colonel Baum, and to be ready to take advantage of the success which it was supposed would attend his arms, General Burgoyne moved along the east bank of the Hudson, and encamped nearly opposite Saratoga; having, at the same time, thrown a bridge of rafts over the river, by which the army passed to that place. With a view to support Colonel Baum, if it should be found necessary, Lieutenant-colonel Breyman's corps, consisting of the Brunswick grenadiers, light infantry and chasseurs, were posted at Battenkill.

On approaching Bennington, it was discovered that a much more considerable force was collected there than had been suspected. The New Hampshire militia, under General Stark, had fortunately reached that place on their way to camp.

Perceiving the danger of his situation, Colonel Baum halted in the towns of Hoosic and Bennington, some where on the borders, and about four miles from the village of Bennington, and dispatched an express for a reinforcement. Meanwhile he strengthened himself as well as was in his power, by intrenchments.

Lieutenant-colonel Breymen was immediately ordered to his assistance; but such was the state of the roads, that although the distance was only twenty-four miles, and he continued his march unremittingly from eight o'clock in the morning, of the fifteenth of August, he did not reach the ground where Colonel Baum had been encamped until four in the afternoon of the next day.

General Stark having received information that a party of Indians were at Cambridge, sent Lieutenant-colonel Grey, on August thirteenth, with two hundred men to stop their progress. Towards night he was informed by express, that a large body of regulars was in the rear of the Indians, and advancing towards Bennington. On this intelligence, General Stark drew together his brigade and the militia that were at hand, and sent on to Manchester, to Colonel Warner, to bring on his regi-

ment; he also sent expresses to the neighbouring militia, to join him with the utmost speed. On the morning of the fourteenth, he marched with his troops, and at the distance of seven miles he met Colonel Grey on the retreat, and the enemy within a mile of him. General Stark drew up his men in order of battle; but the enemy coming in sight, halted upon a very advantageous piece of ground. Colonel Baum perceived the Americans were too strong to be attacked with his present force, sent an express to General Burgoyne, with an account of his situation, and to have Colonel Breyman march immediately to support him.

In the mean time, the small parties of the Americans kept up a skirmish with the enemy, and killed and wounded thirty of them, with two of their Indian chiefs, without any loss to themselves. The ground which General Stark had taken, being unfavourable for a general action, he fell back about half a mile and encamped. He called a council of war, in which it was determined to send two detachments upon the enemy's rear, while the rest of the troops should make an attack upon their front. The next day the weather was rainy, and though it prevented a general action, there were several skirmishes between small parties which proved favourable to the Americans.

On August the sixteenth, in the morning, General Stark was joined by Colonel Symond, and a body of militia, from Berkshire in Massachusetts, and proceeded to attack the enemy, agreeably to the plan which had been concerted. Colonel Baum, had, as we have already mentioned, intrenched himself on an advantageous piece of ground, near St. Coic's mills, on a branch of Hoosic River, and rendered his post as strong as his circumstances and situation would admit. Colonel Nichols was detached with two hundred men, to the rear of his left, and Colonel Herrick, with three hundred men, to the rear of his right; both were to join, and then make the attack. Colonels Hubbard and Stickney, with two hundred more, were ordered on the right, and one hundred were advanced towards the front, to draw the attention of the enemy that way. About three

o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy had taken their station, and were ready to commence the action. While Colonels Nichols and Herrick were bringing their troops together, the Indians were alarmed at the prospect, and pushed off between the two corps—but received a fire as they were passing, by which three of them were killed and two wounded. Nichols then began the attack, and was followed by all the other divisions; those in the front, immediately advanced, and in a few minutes, the action became general. It lasted about two hours, and was like one continued peal of thunder. Colonel Baum made a brave defence, and the German dragoons, after they had expended their ammunition, led by their Colonel, charged with their swords, but were soon overpowered. Their works were carried on all sides, their two pieces of cannon were taken, Colonel Baum himself was mortally wounded and taken prisoner, and all his men, except a few who had escaped into the woods, were either killed or taken prisoners.

Having completed the business, the militia began to disperse, and look out for plunder. Fortunately, Colonel Warner came up with some continentals and militia, and instantly led them on against Colonel Breyman, and began the second engagement. General Stark re-assembled the militia as soon as possible, and pushed on to his assistance. The action became general, and was continued with obstinacy till sun set, when the Germans gave way, and were pursued till dark. They left their two field-pieces behind, and a considerable number were made prisoners. They retreated in the best manner they could, improving the advantages of the night, to which alone their escape was ascribed.

In these actions, the Americans took four brass field-pieces, twelve brass drums, two hundred and fifty swords, four ammunition wagons, and about seven hundred prisoners, with their arms and accoutrements. Two hundred and seven men were found dead upon the spot—the number of wounded were unknown. The loss of the Americans was about thirty slain, and forty wounded.

General Stark, on the fourth of October, received the thanks of Congress, for the signal victory which he had gained over the enemy, and also the appointment of Brigadier-general in the army of the United States.

General Stark had been an officer of much reputation in the French war—he had commanded one of the ranging companies, and had been so active and useful, that Lord Loudon had put him upon the British establishment and pay. In the campaign of 1775, he had the command of one of the New-Hampshire regiments; and few, or no officer, had displayed more knowledge or bravery in the battle of Bunker Hill. Viewing himself as neglected and dishonoured by Congress, in not being promoted to the rank of Brigadier-general, he had left the continental service. Such was the situation of Stark when made Brigadier-general, in 1777, by the legislature of New-Hampshire.

On what small events does popular opinion and military success depend! The defeat and capture of about one thousand Hessians, by Washington, at Trenton, had roused the people and saved the Fredish States. The victory of General Stark now served to rouse the people of the north, and stimulate them to those great exertions which resulted in the defeat and capture of Burgoyne. This was the first victory that had proved any way encouraging to the Americans, in the north, since the defeat of General Montgomery. Defeat had succeeded defeat, and misfortune had followed misfortune, till now. This success raised the drooping spirits of the people, while it depressed those of the invaders.

St. Leger, after having raised the siege of Fort Stanwix, returned to Montreal, from whence he proceeded to Ticonderoga, with the intention of joining General Burgoyne by that route.

The victory obtained by General Stark at Bennington, over Colonel Baum, and the retreat of Colonel St. Leger from Fort Stanwix, were very important in their consequences. The reduction from the force of the enemy by these events, amounted to nearly or quite three thousand men. By the first, the north-

western part of New England was freed from invasion; and by the second, the Mohawk country was rescued from a like calamity. By these events the Americans were enabled to unite all their forces in the north against Burgoyne, and bring the campaign to a speedy and happy issue.

The militia and continentals had recovered that confidence in themselves, which a long series of misfortunes had greatly diminished. The enemy's army which had heretofore spread terror and dismay, was considered as already vanquished; and the opinion now became common, that it was only necessary for the militia to be called out in mass, in order to conquer the enemy, and emancipate the country. The disaffected had become timid, and the wavering, who would have furnished aids, had the enemy been successful, withheld them.

The barbarities too, which had been perpetrated by the Indians belonging to the army of Burgoyne, as well as by those belonging to that of St. Leger, excited more resentment than terror. As the prospect of revenge began to open, the effect of those horrid barbarities became the more apparent; and their influence on the royal cause was the more sensibly felt, because they were indiscriminate. The murder of Miss M'Crea, an accomplished young lady, engaged to a British officer, passed through all the public papers, and the narrative in itself sufficiently affecting, being smoothed and enlarged by the hands of several masters, excited every where an extraordinary degree of interest and sensibility.

The murder of Miss M'Crea was perpetrated one mile north of Fort Edward, on the west side of the highway, at a spring near the foot of a pine tree. The following are the circumstances which attended the murder:—From these it is manifest that General Burgoyne had no agency in it. Miss M'Crea was betrothed to a Mr. Jones, an American refugee, who was in the army of Burgoyne. Solicitous for a union with his intended spouse, he dispatched a party of Indians, belonging to the British army, to call on her and escort her to the British camp. Against the remonstrances of her friends, this lady committed herself to their charge. She was placed on

horseback, and accompanied the Indians to the spring, where they were met by other Indians sent on the same errand. A dispute arose between them as to the reward, (which was a barrel of rum) and while thus engaged in the dispute, they were attacked by some Americans. At the close of the conflict, the unfortunate young lady was found, a short distance from the spring, tommahawked and scalped.

But there were other causes of still greater influence in producing the events, which afterwards took place. The last reinforcements of continental troops arrived in camp about this time, and added both courage and strength to the army. The harvest, which had operated powerfully in detaining the militia upon their farms, was entirely over; and General Schuyler, whose continued and eminent services had not exempted him from the imputation of being a traitor, was succeeded by General Gates.

When General Schuyler was directed by Congress to resume the command of the northern department, General Gates had withdrawn himself from it; and now, when General Schuyler had repaired the losses occasioned by the precipitate and badly conducted retreat of General St. Clair, and placed the army in a situation to conquer, General Gates superseded him. This happened on the twenty-first of August, and after the defeat of Colonel Baum, and the day before Colonel St. Leger raised the siege of Fort Stanwix, the two events which led to the defeat and capture of Burgoyne's army. It was at this particular crisis that General Schuyler was deprived of the command. His removal appears to have been unjust and severe, and cannot be justified on any other ground than, perhaps, public policy. A popular clamour had been very unmeritedly raised against him, in consequence of the unfortunate retreat of St. Clair, and by rival candidates for the command of this army; and it will appear in the sequel, that General Gates had no small share in these rivalships.

General Burgoyne, notwithstanding his disasters at Bennington and Fort Stanwix, evinced no disposition to relinquish the

enterprise. Led on by fate, he still cherished the hope of being able to accomplish the object of the campaign, and resolved to persevere in his endeavours to execute the plan which had been formed by the cabinet of St. James.

But it was now necessary for him to have recourse to his original slow and toilsome mode of obtaining supplies from Fort George, and to this object he applied with unremitting industry. Having, with great care and with persevering labour, collected in advance, provisions for thirty days, and thrown a bridge of boats over the Hudson, that made of rafts being carried away by a swell of the river, he crossed on the thirteenth and fourteenth of September, and encamped on the flats and heights of Saratoga, with the determination of deciding, in a general engagement, the fate of the expedition.

General Gates, who was now joined by all the continental troops destined for the northern department, and reinforced by very strong corps of militia, had left his camp at Halfmoon, and advanced towards the enemy as far as Stillwater.

The bridges between the two armies, which had been broken down by General Schuyler, required to be repaired. The roads were excessively bad, and the country, except along the banks of the river, covered with woods. Hence, the progress of the British army down the river was very slow, and attended with some skirmishing, in which, however, no great loss was sustained on either side. On the night of the seventeenth, General Burgoyne encamped within four miles of the American army, and the next day was employed in repairing the bridges between the two camps.

This was effected with some loss, and about noon of the nineteenth, General Gates was informed, that the enemy was advancing in full force on his left, where General Arnold commanded.

About one o'clock, some of the American scouting parties fell in with those of the British, and began the attack with great animation. The firing was no sooner heard, than the advanced parties of both armies moved on, and being supported

and reinforced by their respective commanders, the battle soon became fierce and obstinate; the Americans aiming not to receive, but to commence the attacks. From the nature of the ground, the American generals were unable to perceive the different combinations of the march of the enemy; and their first attempt was to turn the right wing of the British army. The strong position of General Frazer prevented their being able to execute this design. They next moved in a very regular order, and made a furious attack upon the right of the left wing. The battle was now become general with the whole of the right wing of the British army, and both armies appeared determined to conquer. Reinforcements were continually brought up, and about four o'clock, General Arnold, with nine continental regiments, and Morgan's rifle corps, was completely engaged with the enemy's right wing. A continued fire was kept for three hours, without any intermission. The Americans and the British were alternately driven, and drove each other. Several pieces of cannon were taken and retaken several times. On both sides the action was maintained with a resolution and steadiness which nothing could exceed, and the approach of darkness alone, put an end to this terrible contest. The British remained on the field under arms all night, but the Americans withdrew to their camp.

Severe and indecisive as the battle had been, the advantages which attended it were wholly on the side of the Americans. The British lost upwards of five hundred men, in killed, wounded and prisoners; while that on the part of the Americans, did not exceed three hundred and fifty, or four hundred men. Among the killed, on the side of the Americans, may be enumerated, Colonels Colburn and Adams.

Each army claimed the victory, and each believed itself to have beaten, with only part of its force, nearly the whole of the other side. In a conflict which lasted nearly half of the day, the Americans were fully equal to the enemy. In every quarter they had been the assailants, and after the longest and severest conflict which had been fought since the commencement of the war, they had not lost a foot of ground. They

had not been driven from the field, but withdrew at the close of the day to their camp. Their object, which had been to check the enemy advancing upon them, was accomplished. In the present state of things, to fight without being beaten on their part, was almost equal to victory; while on the part of the enemy, to fight without gaining, was almost tantamount to a defeat. The Indians, who found themselves vanquished in the woods by Colonel Morgan's riflemen, and restrained by General Burgoyne in scalping and plundering the unarmed; and who saw before them the prospect of a great deal of hard fighting, without much profit, grew tired of the service, and deserted in great numbers. The Canadians, who had been dragged out against their inclination, and the provincials who had volunteered their services against their country, were not much more faithful; and it was soon perceived, that the hopes of the British general must rest almost entirely on his European troops.

With much reason, therefore, this action was celebrated throughout the United States as a victory, and considered as the forerunner of the utter ruin of the British army.

Every where the militia were stimulated to arms and to action, in order to finish the work already begun.

The next day intelligence was received from the north, which tended still further to raise the spirits of the army. It has already been mentioned, that General Lincoln had been sent to form the militia, as they came up from the northwestern parts of New England, in the rear of the enemy, and that Mount Independence and Ticonderoga were comprehended in his plan of operations. He had assembled a considerable force at Manchester in Vermont, from whence he marched to Pawlet, a small village on a river of that name, which falls into Wood Creek off Lake Champlain.

Here, he divided his troops into three parties, of about five hundred men each, and detached Colonel Brown at the head of one of them to the north end of Lake George, principally to relieve a number of prisoners, who were confined there, but with orders to push his success, if he should be fortunate, as far as prudence would admit. Colonel Johnson, at the head of

another party, marched towards Mount Independence; and Colonel Woodbury, with a third, proceeded to Skeensborough, to cover the retreat of both the others. With the residue of the militia, General Lincoln set out to join General Gates.

After marching all night, Colonel Brown arrived about break of day, on the north end of the lake, where he fell in with a small post, which he carried without opposition. The enemy were completely surprised, and he took possession of Mount Defiance, Mount Hope, the old French lines, the landing, and about two hundred batteaux. One hundred American prisoners were liberated, and two hundred and ninety-three of the enemy were captured, with the loss of only three killed and five wounded.

The attempt on Ticonderoga and Mount Independence failed. The garrisons refused to surrender, and, when attacked, repulsed the assailants. The militia, on their return through Lake George with the vessels which they had captured, made an attack on Diamond Island, which General Burgoyne, on crossing to the Hudson, had made the depot of all the stores collected at the south end of the lake, that being a place of greater security than Fort George, but they were driven away with some loss.

The day after the battle near Stillwater, General Burgoyne, who took a position almost within cannon-shot of the American camp, fortified his right and extended his left to the extremity of the river hills, so as to cover the meadow through which the river runs, in which his batteaux and hospital were placed. For greater security, two European regiments, and a corps of provincials, were encamped in the meadow. Immediately after, he received a letter from Sir Henry Clinton, informing him, that about the twentieth of September, he should attack Fort Montgomery. The bearer of the letter was sent back by General Burgoyne, to Sir Henry Clinton, with information of the pressing necessity of the army for aid, and that he should endeavour to wait for it, until the twelfth of October.

The American army, whose numbers increased daily, continued on its old ground. The right, which extended to the

river, had been rendered inexpugnable, and the greatest industry was used to strengthen the left.

Both armies retained their position until the seventh of October—Burgoyne, in the hope of being relieved by Sir Henry Clinton and Gates, in the hope of growing stronger every day, and of rendering the destruction of his enemy more certain.—No foraging parties could be made by the British army, without large detachments to cover them.

In the mean time, General Lincoln, on the twenty-ninth of September, joined General Gates, with two thousand militia.

General Burgoyne was now much apprehensive of increasing difficulties and dangers; his own provisions were rapidly decreasing, and large additions were every day made to the American army. In the beginning of October, he ventured on a measure, which could no longer be avoided, a diminution of the soldiers' rations; disagreeable as such a measure always is to an army, it was submitted to without murmurs. Things remained in this situation, till the seventh of October, and no intelligence arrived of the expected assistance from Sir Henry Clinton; and the time was nearly expired, in which it was possible for the army to remain in its present camp or situation.—No other expedient appeared, but to make a movement of the British army, to the left of the Americans. This might serve to cover a forage of the army, which was now much distressed by scarcity; to discover whether it was possible to force a passage if it should be necessary to advance; or to intimidate the Americans, if it should be judged best to retreat.

On October the seventh, a detachment of the British army, consisting of fifteen hundred men, with two howitzers, two twelve-pounders and six six-pounders, were put in motion. This detachment was commanded by General Burgoyne in person, aided by Major-generals Phillips and Reidesel, and Brigadier-general Frazer. No better generals, or troops were at that time to be found in the British service. The defence of the camp, on the high grounds, was assigned to Brigadier-generals Hamilton and Speight; and that of the redoubts and plain, near the river, to Brigadier-general Gall. The force of the

Americans, in the front, was supposed to be so much superior that it was not judged safe to augment the detachment to a greater number. The right wing of the British army was formed within three-quarters of a mile of the left of the American camp; and a corps of rangers, provincials and Indians, was pushed on through secret paths, to appear as a check on their rear.

General Gates soon received intelligence of the march of the royal army, and immediately put his troops in motion. About four o'clock in the afternoon, the American column approached the royal detachment, and was fired upon by the twelve and six-pounders. Disregarding the fire, they drew up along the skirts of the wood, amidst the trees, about two hundred yards distant from the British artillery. No sooner were they formed than they made a very sudden and rapid attack upon the British grenadiers, who were posted to support the left wing of the line. Major Ackland, at the head of the grenadiers, sustained this impetuous assault with great resolution; but more regiments arriving, the Americans extended their attack along the whole front of the Germans, who were posted immediately on the right of the British grenadiers. In this situation it became impossible to move any part of the German troops, to form a second line, to support the flank; where the weight of the fire became irresistible.

In the mean time, General Arnold pressed hard on the right, under Burgoyne, which, with great difficulty, and with the loss of the field-pieces, and a great part of the artillery corps, made good its retreat to the camp. The Americans followed close in their rear, and under a tremendous fire of grape-shot and musketry, assaulted the works throughout their whole extent, from right to left. Towards the close, a part of the left forced the intrenchments, and General Arnold, with a few men, actually entered the works; but his horse was killed under him, and he was himself very badly wounded. Those who had entered the lines with him, were forced out of them; and it being now nearly dark, they desisted from the attack.

The left of Arnold's detachment, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Brooks, was still more successful, for it

turned the right of the enemy's encampment, and stormed the works occupied by the German reserve. Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, who commanded in them, was killed, and the works were carried with less difficulty than the assailants had expected. The orders given by Burgoyne, to recover them, were not executed, and Brooks maintained the ground he had gained.

Darkness, as in the engagement of the nineteenth of October, put an end to the action; and the Americans lay all night with their arms in their hands, about half a mile from the lines, ready to renew the assault next day. The advantage they had now gained was decisive. They had taken several pieces of artillery, killed a great number of the enemy, made upwards of two hundred prisoners, among whom were several officers of distinction; and penetrated their lines in a part which exposed their rear to considerable danger. In this action, the British general, Frazer, was mortally wounded.

In the course of the night Burgoyne changed his position, and drew his army into the camp, on the heights, extending his rear up the river. This movement extricated him from imminent danger of being attacked with the return of the day.

General Gates perceiving the strength of Burgoyne's new position, did not deem it advisable to hazard another action, in as much as he plainly foresaw it would be impossible for the enemy to subsist many days without either defeating his army, or effecting their retreat to Lakes George and Champlain, both of which, he considered impossible. In order to prevent the enemy from retreating, and compel him to surrender, he detached a large body of troops to operate on the enemy's rear. These crossed the Hudson, and took post on the east side of the river, and at the fords.

This movement compelled Burgoyne again to change his position. To prevent the road in his rear, being entirely closed upon him, it was necessary to retire immediately to Saratoga. The retreat was commenced about nine o'clock at night, and was effected with the loss of his hospital, containing about three hundred sick, and of several batteaux, laden with provisions and baggage.

A heavy rain retarded the retreat of the enemy so much, that Fish Creek was not crossed until the morning of the tenth. On reaching the ground which he had intended to occupy, he found a strong corps of the Americans already intrenched on the opposite side of the river, prepared to dispute the passage.

When the rain ceased, General Gates put his army in motion, and began the pursuit; but he was retarded considerably in consequence of having to re-build several bridges, while on his way, that had been destroyed by the enemy.

From his camp, at Fish Creek, Burgoyne detached a company of artificers, under a strong escort, consisting of a regiment of regulars, the marksmen and corps of provincials, to repair the road leading to Fort Edward, and re-build the bridges, to the end, that he might be enabled to continue his retreat, and thus obviate the alternative of surrendering himself and his army.

The regulars and provincials accompanying the artificers, had proceeded but a short way, when the Americans appeared in force, on the heights, on the south side of Fish Creek, and made dispositions which excited the apprehension of an intention to cross that stream, and attack them. The regulars, escorting the artificers, were immediately recalled, and the provincials being attacked, fled on the first fire.

No hope of repairing the road now remained, and of consequence, it was impossible to move the baggage and artillery of the army.

About the same time, the boats containing the provisions, were found so much exposed in the river, the opposite shore of which being lined with the Americans, that it was deemed indispensible, for the safety of the small stock on hand, to land and convey it into the camp.

The British army was now nearly surrounded by a superior force. No means remained of extricating it from difficulties and dangers which were daily accumulating, other than by fording the river on the opposite bank, of which a formidable body of troops was already posted in order to dispute the passage, and then retreat to the heads of Lakes Champlain and

George, on roads impassable to wagons, with an army flushed with victory, pressing on the rear. The desperate condition of the affairs of the enemy was fully understood by General Gates. He thought it not improbable that Burgoyne, after abandoning all his artillery and baggage, might attempt a retreat by night. To deprive the enemy of this last resource, a part of the troops, on the east side of the Hudson, was ordered higher up to guard the upper fords, and in the event of their being attempted, to defend their passage, until the arrival of the army. In addition to this precaution, an intrenched camp, furnished with artillery, was formed on the high grounds, between Forts Edward and George.

General Gates was not mistaken in supposing that the enemy would resort to this as their last refuge. In a council of general officers, called to deliberate on their situation, the resolution was taken to abandon every thing but their arms, and a sufficient quantity of provisions to support them until they should reach Fort George, which might be carried on their backs; and by a forced march in the night, up the Hudson, to extricate themselves from their perilous condition.

This desperate resolution being taken, scouts were sent out to examine the route, who returned with information that those fords were already guarded by strong bodies of Americans. This plan of retreating was, therefore, abandoned as impracticable.

General Burgoyne caused an account to be made of the provisions on hand, when it was found that only a supply for three days remained in store. Nothing could be more hopeless than the present condition of the British army.

A treaty was opened by Burgoyne with General Gates, stating a willingness to spare the further effusion of blood, provided a negotiation could be effected on honourable terms.

This proposition was answered, by a demand on the part of General Gates, that the whole army should ground their arms in their encampment, and surrender themselves prisoners of war. This demand was rejected, with a declaration, that if General Gates designed to insist on it, the negotiation must im-

mediately break off, and hostilities recommence. On receiving this decided answer, the rigorous terms proposed were rescinded, and a convention was signed, by which it was agreed, that the British army, after marching out of their encampment with all the honours of war, should lay down their arms, and not serve against the United States, until exchanged. They were allowed to proceed directly to the sea-coast, where they embarked for Great Britain.

The following sketch is taken from the memoirs of General Wilkinson, who was then an aid to General Gates. It shows the positions of the American and British armies, and may be read to advantage with the preceding, in as much as it gives ideas and views not elsewhere to be found.

"On the eighteenth of September, General Burgoyne moved his army forward, and encamped in two lines, about two miles from General Gates; his left on the Hudson, and his right extending at right angles to it, across the low grounds, about six hundred yards, to a range of steep and lofty heights, occupied by his elite, having a creek or gully in his front, made by a rivulet, which issued from a great ravine formed by the hills, which ran in a direction nearly parallel to the river, until within half a mile of the American camp.

"General Gates' right occupied the brow of the hill near the Hudson, with which it was connected by a deep intrenchment; his camp, in the form of a sedgement of a great circle, the convex towards the enemy, extended rather obliquely to his rear, about three-fourths of a mile, to a knoll occupied by his left; his front was covered from the right to the left of the centre by a sharp ravine, running parallel with his line, and closely wooded; from thence to the knoll at his extreme left, the ground was level and had been partially cleared, some of the trees being felled and others girdled, beyond which, in front of his left flank, and extending to the enemy's right, there were several small fields in very imperfect cultivation, the surface broken and obstructed with stumps and fallen timber, and the whole bounded on the west by a steep eminence. The extremities of this camp were defended by strong batteries, and the interval

was strengthened by a breast-work, without intrenchments, constructed of the bodies of felled trees, logs, and rails, with an additional battery at an opening on the left of the centre. The right was almost impracticable, the left difficult of approach."

Wilkinson describes the defences of this position, as they appeared about the fourth of October.

"The intermediate space between the adverse armies on the low grounds of the river, was open and in cultivation; the high land was clothed in its native woods, with the exception of three or four small, newly opened and deserted farms, separated by intervals of woodland, and bordering on the flanks of the two armies most remote from the river; the principal of these was an oblong field, belonging to a person of the name of Freeman; there was also, exclusive of the ravines fronting the respective camps, a third ravine, about midway between them, running at right angles to the river. The intervening forest rendered it utterly impracticable to obtain a front view of the American position, or any part of the British, except its left, near the river.

"The first battle was accidental—neither of the generals meditated an attack at the time; Burgoyne's movement being merely to take ground on the heights in front of the great ravine, to give his several corps their proper places in line, to embrace our front and cover his transports, stores, provisions, and baggage in the rear of his left; and on our side, the defences of our camp being not half completed, and reinforcements daily arriving, it was not General Gates' policy to court an action. The misconception of the adverse chiefs confined them to the ground they casually occupied at the beginning of the action, and prevented a single manœuvre during one of the longest, warmest, and most obstinate battles fought in America. General Gates believed that his antagonist intended to attack him, and circumstances seemed to justify the like conclusion on the part of General Burgoyne; and as the thickness and depth of the intervening woods concealed the position and movements of either army from its adversary, sound caution

obliged the respective commanders to guard every assailable point; thus the flower of the British army, the grenadiers and light infantry, one thousand five hundred strong, were posted on an eminence to cover its right, and stood by their arms, inactive spectators of the conflict, until near sunset; while General Gates was obliged to keep his right wing on post, to prevent the enemy from forcing that flank by the plain bordering on the Hudson. Had either of the generals been properly apprised of the dispositions of his antagonist, a serious blow might have been struck on our left, or on the enemy's right; but, although nothing is more common, it is as illiberal as it is unjust, to determine the merits of military operations by events exclusively. It was not without experience, that the Roman erected temples to Fortune. Later times might afford motive for edifices, in which genius or wisdom would have no votarie

"The theatre of action was such, that although the combatar changed ground a dozen times in the course of the day, the cc test terminated on the spot where it began. This may be expla ed in a few words. The British line was formed on an emine in a thin pine wood, having before it Freeman's farm, an - long field, stretching from the centre towards its right, ie ground in front sloping gently down to the verge of this ld, which was bordering on the opposite side by a close wood he sanguinary scene lay in the cleared ground, between the ninence occupied by the enemy and the wood just describec the fire of our marksmen was too deadly to be withstood the enemy in line, and when they gave way and broke, our me ushing from their covert, pursued them to the eminence, here, having their flanks protected, they rallied, and charg in turn, drove us back into the wood, from whence a dreaul fire would again force them to fall back; and in this maer did the battle fluctuate, like the waves of a stormy sea, wi alternate advantage, for four hours, without one momen intermission. The British artillery fell into our possessioat every charge, but we could neither turn the pieces upon t enemy, nor bring them off; the wood prevented the last, anthe want of a match the first, as the lint-stock was invariably rried off,

and the rapidity of the transitions did not allow us time to provide one. It was truly a gallant conflict, in which death, by familiarity, lost his terrors, and certainly a drawn battle, as night alone terminated it."

In the mean time, while the Americans were engaged with the army of Burgoyne, Sir Henry Clinton, the commander of all the British forces in America, was not idle. On the fourth of October, he embarked, at New-York, with upwards of three thousand men, and sailing up the Hudson, landed at Verplanck's Point, on the east side of that river, on the next day. General Putnam, who commanded at this place, retired without delay to the heights in rear of that place. On the evening of the same day, a part of the troops re-embarked, and the fleet moved up the river to Peekskill Neck, in order to mask King's Ferry, which was then below them. This is a commodious landing-place, not far above which the mountains, denominated the Highlands, commence with steep and almost inaccessible declivities, to the water's edge. The next morning, t dawn of day, the troops destined for the enterprise, debarked n the west side of Stoney Point, and immediately began their arch through the mountains, into the rear of Forts Clinton d Montgomery. The debarkation was not made without ing observed by the Americans; but the morning was so y foggy, that the numbers could not be ascertained; and a lge fire, which was afterwards perceived at the landing-place, le to the opinion, that a party had only gone on shore to burn so store-houses which had been erected there. Meanwhile th anœuvres of the vessels, and the appearance of the small dethment left at Verplanck's Point, induced General Putnam to lieve that the meditated attack was on Fort Independence. To is object his attention was directed, and it was not until the hvy firing from the other side of the river, announced to him assault on Forts Clinton and Montgomery, that the real ws of the enemy were disclosed. He immediately detache five hundred men to reinforce the garrisons of those forts, lt before these could cross the river, the works had been storme and were in possession of the British.

The enemy, having left a battalion at the pass of Dunderburg, to keep up a communication with the fleet, and cover his retreat, in case of misfortune, continued his march to the neighbourhood of Fort Clinton. There they separated, and Colonel Campbell, with nine hundred men, made a circuit round the forest of Deane, to fall on the back of Fort Montgomery, while General Vaughan, with twelve hundred men, accompanied by Sir Henry Clinton, and followed by the rear-guard, under General Tryon, advanced against Fort Clinton.

Governor Clinton, who commanded in the forts, made dispositions to oppose the enemy, by sending out parties to harass him in his march, but these soon gave way and returned. The garrisons when summoned, having refused to surrender. the attack commenced at about five on both forts. The works were defended with resolution, and were maintained until dark, when the enemy entered them in different places; and the defence being no longer possible, part of the garrison were made prisoners, while the rest escaped. General James Clinton, although wounded, made his escape. Lieutenant-colonels Livingston and Bray, and Majors Logan and Hamilton were among the prisoners. The loss sustained by the garrisons was about two hundred and fifty men. That of the enemy was supposed to be greater, but Sir Henry Clinton, in his official letter, states it at less than two hundred killed, wounded, and missing. Among the former were Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, and two other field officers.

By the capture of Forts Montgomery and Clinton, it became apparent that the object of the enemy was to destroy the stores at Peekskill, seize the posts in the mountains, and destroy the line of communication between the eastern and middle states. Peekskill had always been an object of the first importance to the Americans. Great pains had been taken to render this position, which is naturally very strong, still stronger. The defences most relied on were Forts Montgomery and Clinton, on the west bank of the Hudson, on high ground, very difficult of access, and separated from each other by a small stream. These forts were too much elevated to be battered from the

water with effect, and the hills on which they were erected, too steep to be ascended by troops landing at the foot of them; and the mountains, which commence five or six miles below them, are so very lofty and rugged, and the defiles so narrow; that the approaches to them are easily defended.

To prevent the enemy from passing these forts with his shipping, chevaux-de frise had been sunk in the river, and a boom extended from bank to bank. This boom was covered with large chains, stretched at some distance in its front, for the purpose of breaking the force of any vessel sailing against it. These works were not only defended by the guns of the fort, but by a frigate and several galleys stationed above them. Fort Independence is four or five miles below Forts Montgomery and Clinton, on the east side of the Hudson, on a high point of land, and Fort Constitution is about six miles above them, on an island near the eastern shore.

The officer commanding at the station, which comprehended the whole extent of the Hudson, from Kingsbridge, northwardly to Albany, usually had his head-quarters at Peekskill, just below Fort Independence, and on the same side of the river. General Putnam at this time commanded the station of the Hudson, with two thousand men, exclusive of some militia. These forces, although not competent for all the posts on the Hudson station, would, had a proper disposition been made of them, been abundantly competent to the defence of the forts, against any number which the enemy could bring from New-York. But this was not done by General Putnam, who seems to have been at a loss how to act.

The boom and chains across the Hudson were taken, with the Forts Montgomery and Clinton, and the frigates and galleys were burnt, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.

As soon as Governor Clinton joined General Putnam, it was resolved not to attempt the defence of Peekskill, but to remove as many of the stores as possible, and retire further up the river.

Forts Independence and Constitution were evacuated the

next day, and Putnam and Clinton retreated to Fishkill. The same measures had been taken at Fort Constitution as at Forts Montgomery and Clinton, by sinking impediments in the river, and by stretching chains across it to prevent the vessels of the enemy from ascending; but they were all abandoned, without an attempt to defend them. After burning Continental Village, where stores to a large amount had been collected, General Vaughan, with a detachment, proceeded up the river as far as Kingston, in the county of Ulster, which he also destroyed.

General Putnam, whose army was soon augmented by the militia of New-York, Connecticut, and New-Jersey, to six thousand men, detached General Parsons, with two thousand, to regain possession of Peekskill and the passes in the Highlands.

General Gates, on receiving intelligence of the capture of Fort Montgomery, and other posts on the Hudson, and of the retreat of General Putnam and Governor Clinton, sent five thousand men to their assistance. But, before their arrival, General Vaughan had decamped from Kingston, and descended the Hudson to New-York, destroying in his way all the forts.

The military stores which fell into the enemy's hands were very considerable. The Highlands having been deemed a position, which more than any other, united the advantages of convenience and security, magazines to a large amount had been collected there. But these were nearly all destroyed by the enemy in a few days, and without meeting with much opposition.

Though the losses of the United States were great, very little benefit accrued to the enemy. The enterprise was undertaken at too late a period to save Burgoyne and his army; and although the enemy acquired the passes of the Highlands, they were unable to hold them. They had reduced to ashes, every village, and almost every dwelling-house along the river; but this wanton destruction served rather to inflame than to subdue.

The fate of Burgoyne was in a measure decided, by the battle on the nineteenth of September. The issue of that battle, demonstrated to both armies, that the continental troops, un-

der General Gates, were more than equal to him in the field; and it was not difficult to foresee, that New England, more populous, more united, more zealous, and better armed than the middle and southern states, would pour forth such auxiliary forces, as would be irresistible. That Burgoyne did not relinquish the enterprise as desperate, and fall back on Ticonderoga and Crown Point, is perhaps the only error committed by him. In the affair of Bennington, there was more of fortune than of bad judgment. The presence of General Stark at the latter place, with the New Hampshire militia, was adventitious. This circumstance, which prevented the success of the expedition against the magazines, and destroyed the party, was prepared by no previous arrangement. Without the New Hampshire militia, Colonel Warner, with three hundred continentals, would have been unable to have prevented the destruction of the stores.

The army of Burgoyne, when it set out from Ticonderoga, amounted to ten thousand men. The whole number which surrendered at Saratoga, was five thousand seven hundred and fifty-two. By the surrender, the Americans acquired a fine train of artillery, seven thousand stand of arms, and clothing for seven thousand men, besides other military stores. The defeat and capture of this army may be ranked among the most splendid achievements of the revolution. The universal joy which it produced in America was extreme. Many imagined the contest nearly at an end. The French court, soon after hearing of the event, acknowledged the Independence of the United States, and entered into a formal treaty.

The thanks of Congress were voted to General Gates and his army. Colonel Wilkinson, the Adjutant-general in the northern department, was appointed a Brigadier-general.

The Congress directed, that General Putnam should join Washington, with two thousand five hundred men; and that General Gates should take the command of the army on the Hudson station, with unlimited powers to call for aids of militia, from the New England states, and from the states of New-York and New-Jersey.

The loss of the army under Burgoyne, disabled the enemy from detaining Ticonderoga, Mount Independence and Crown Point. After destroying these fortresses, and the heavy stores collected at them, the garrisons retired to Isle Aux Noix, and St. Johns.

The effects produced by these events on the British cabinet, were great. It began to doubt whether the colonies would be subdued. Parliament met on the 20th of November, and, as usual, an address was proposed, in answer to the speech of his Majesty, approving the conduct of the administration. The Earl of Chatham moved to amend the address, by introducing a clause recommending to his Majesty a cessation of hostilities, and the commencement of a treaty of conciliation, "to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and prosperity to both countries." In the course of his observations in support of his motion, he said, "but my lords, who is the man, that in addition to the disgraces and mischiefs of war, has dared to authorize and associate to our arms, the tommahawk and scalping knife of the savage? to call into civilized alliance, the wild and inhuman inhabitants of the woods? to delegate to the merciless Indian, the defence of disputed rights, and to wage the horrors of his barbarous warfare against our brethren? my lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment. Unless thoroughly done away, it will be a stain on the national character. It is not the least of our national misfortunes, that the strength and character of our army are impaired. Familiarised to the horrid scenes of savage cruelty, it can no longer boast of the noble and generous principles which dignify a soldier. No longer can you sympathize with the dignity of the royal banner, nor feel the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war, that makes ambition virtue. What makes ambition virtue? the sense of honour. But is this sense of honour consistent with the spirit of plunder, or the practice of murder? can it flow from mercenary motives, or can it prompt to cruel deeds?"

The conduct of the administration, however, received the approbation of large majorities, in both houses. The disaster of

Burgoyne was soon known, and the mortification which it occasioned, was excessively great. A reluctant confession of the calamity was made known in Parliament, and a desire to restore peace, on any terms short of the dismemberment of the empire, found its way into the cabinet of St. James.

But to return to the campaign in the middle states. Soon after Sir William Howe had landed his troops in Maryland, he issued a declaration to the inhabitants. In this he informed them, that he should keep the strictest order among his troops, and that the most exemplary punishment should be inflicted upon those who should dare to plunder the property, or molest the persons of any of his Majesty's well disposed subjects.

The royal army, amounting to sixteen thousand men, set out from the eastern heads of the Chesapeake, on the third of September, with a spirit which promised to compensate for the various delays which had hitherto wasted the campaign in this quarter. They advanced with boldness, till they were within two miles of the American army, which was posted at Newtown. Washington soon changed his position, and took post on the high ground near Chadd's Ford, on the Brandywine Creek, with an intention of disputing the passage. It was the wish, but by no means the interest, of the Americans to try their strength in an engagement. Their regular troops were not only greatly inferior in discipline, but in numbers, to the royal army. The opinion of the inhabitants, though founded on no circumstances more substantial than their wishes, imposed a species of necessity on Washington to keep his army in front of the enemy, and to risk an action for the security of Philadelphia. Instead of this, had he taken the ridge of mountains on his right, the British must have respected his numbers, and probably would have followed him up the country. In this manner the campaign might have been wasted away, in a measure fatal to the invaders; but the bulk of the American people were so impatient of delays, and had such a conceit of the numbers and prowess of their army, that they could not comprehend the wisdom and policy of manœuvres to shun a general engagement.

On this occasion necessity dictated, that a sacrifice should be made on the altar of public opinion. A general action was therefore hazarded on the eleventh of September. This took place at Chadd's Ford, on the Brandywine, a small stream that empties itself into Christina Creek, near its conflux with the Delaware.

The British army advanced, at day-break, in two columns, commanded by General Knyphausen and Lord Cornwallis. The first took the direct road to Chadd's Ford, and made a show of passing it, in front of the main body of the Americans; at the same time the other column moved upon the west side of the Brandywine to its forks, and crossed both its branches, about two o'clock in the afternoon, and marched down on the east side, with the view of turning the right wing of the Americans. This they effected, and compelled them to retreat with great loss. General Knyphausen amused the Americans with the appearance of crossing the ford, but did not attempt it, until Lord Cornwallis, having crossed above and moved down on the opposite side, had commenced the attack. Knyphausen then crossed the ford, and attacked the troops posted for its defence. These, after a severe conflict, were compelled to give way. The retreat of the Americans soon became general, and was continued to Chester. The final issue of battles often depends on small circumstances, which no human prudence can control. One of these occurred here, and prevented Washington from executing a bold design, to effect which his troops were actually in motion. This was, to have crossed the Brandywine, and attacked Knyphausen, while General Sullivan and Lord Stirling should keep Cornwallis in check. In the most critical moment, Washington received intelligence that the column of Lord Cornwallis had been only making a feint, and was returning to join Knyphausen. This prevented the execution of a plan, which, if it had been carried into effect, would probably have given a different turn to the events of the day. The killed and wounded in the royal army were near six hundred; the loss of the Americans was twice that number.

Howe, after the battle of Brandywine, persevered in his scheme of gaining the right flank of the Americans, which Washington as steadily endeavoured to avoid. A few days afterwards, Washington came forward as far as the Warren Tavern, on the Lancaster road, with a resolution of risking another battle. Near that place, both armies were on the point of engaging with their whole force, but were prevented by a violent storm of rain, which continued a whole day and night. When the rain ceased, the Americans, in consequence of their ammunition being wet, withdrew. The British marched from their position down towards the Swedes Ford. The Americans again took post in their front, but the British, instead of engaging them, began to march towards Reading. To save the stores that had been deposited in that place, Washington took a new position, and left the British in possession of the roads which led to Philadelphia. About this time, the Americans sustained a considerable loss, by a night attack, conducted by General Grey, on a detachment of their troops which was encamped near the Paoli Tavern. The outposts and pickets were forced without noise. The men had scarcely time to turn out, and when they had turned out, they unfortunately paraded in the light of their fires; this directed the British how and where to proceed; they rushed in upon them, and put about three hundred of them to death in a silent manner, by a free and exclusive use of the bayonet. The enterprise was conducted with so much address, that the loss of the assailants did not exceed eight.

The bulk of the British army being left in Germantown, Sir William Howe, on the twenty-sixth of September, with a small part, made his entry into Philadelphia. The possession of the largest city in the United States, was reckoned by the enemy as a measure preparatory to ending the war.

One of the first objects of the British, after they had got possession of Philadelphia, was to erect batteries, to command the river, and to protect the city from any insult by water. The British shipping were prevented from ascending the Delaware, by obstructions which were fixed near Mud Island.

Washington having been reinforced by two thousand five hundred men, from Peekskill and Virginia, and having been informed that Howe had detached a considerable part of his force for reducing the forts on the Delaware, conceived the design of attacking the British post at Germantown. Their line of encampment crossed the town at right angles, near the centre; the left wing extended to the Schuylkill, and was covered in front by the mounted and dismounted chasseurs. The Queen's American rangers, and a battalion of infantry, were in front of the right. The fortieth regiment, with another battalion of infantry, were posted on the Chestnut Hill road, three-quarters of a mile in advance. Lord Cornwallis lay at Philadelphia, with four battalions of grenadiers. A few of the general officers of the American army, whose advice was requested, recommended an attack; and it was agreed that it should be made at different places, to produce the greater confusion, and to prevent the several parts of the British forces from affording support to each other. From an apprehension that the Americans, from a want of discipline, would not persevere in a long attack, it was resolved, that it should be sudden and vigorous; and if unsuccessful, to make an expeditious retreat. The divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade, were to enter the town by the way of Chestnut Hill, while General Armstrong, with the Pennsylvania militia, should fall down the Manatawny road, and gain the left and rear of the British. The divisions of Greene and Stephens, flanked by M'Dougal's brigade, were to enter by the Lime Kiln road.—The militia of Maryland and New-Jersey, under Generals Smallwood and Furman, were to march by the Old York road, and fall on the rear of the right. Lord Sterling, with Nashe's and Maxwell's brigades, were to form the reserve.

The Americans began their attack about sun-rise, on the fortieth regiment, and a battalion of infantry. These corps being obliged to retreat, were pursued into the village. On their retreat, Colonel Musgrove, with six companies, took post in Mr. Chew's strong stone house, which lay in front of the Americans. From an adherence to the military maxim, of

never leaving a fort possessed by an enemy, in the rear, it was resolved to attack the party in the house.

In the mean time, General Greene got up with his column, and attacked the right wing. Colonel Matthews routed a party of the British opposed to him, killed several, and took one hundred and ten prisoners, but from the darkness of the day, lost sight of the brigade to which he belonged, and having separated from it, was made prisoner with his whole regiment, and the prisoners whom he had previously taken, were released. A number of the troops in Greene's division, were stopped by the halt of the party before Chew's house. Near one-half of the American army remained, for some time, at that place, inactive. Mean while General Grey led on three battalions, and attacked with vigour, when a sharp contest ensued. Two British regiments attacked at the same time, on the opposite side of the town. General Grant moved up to the aid of those who were engaged with Greene.

The morning was extremely foggy. This, by concealing the true situation of the parties, occasioned mistakes, and made so much caution necessary, as to give the British time to recover from the effects of their first surprise. From these causes, the early promising appearances on the part of the assailants, were speedily reversed. The Americans left the field hastily, and all efforts to rally them were ineffectual. Lord Cornwallis arrived with a party of horse, and joined in the pursuit. The loss of the royal army, including prisoners, was about five hundred. The loss of the Americans, including four hundred prisoners, was about one thousand.

Soon after this battle, the British left Germantown, and turned their principal attention towards opening a communication between their army and shipping.

Much industry and ingenuity had been exerted by the Americans for the security of Philadelphia, on the water side. Thirteen galleys, two floating batteries, two zebeques, one brig and one ship, besides a number of armed boats, fire ships and rafts, were constructed or employed for this purpose. They had also built a fort on Mud Island. This island is admirably

situated for the erection of works, to annoy shipping in their way up the Delaware. It lies near the middle of the river, and about seven miles below Philadelphia. No vessel of burthen can come up but by the main channel, which passes close by the island. Opposite to Mud Island, there is a height called Red Bank; this overlooks the river; on this height a battery was erected. Two ranges of chevaux-de-frise were sunk into the channel, about three hundred yards below the fort on Mud Island. The only open passage left, was close to the fort, and that was secured by a strong boom. Another fortification was erected on a high bank, on the New-Jersey side of the shore; and opposite to this, another range of chevaux-de-frise was deposited, leaving only a narrow and shoal channel on the one side.

The British were well apprised that without the command of the river, their possession of Philadelphia would be of no advantage. Lord Howe had early taken effectual measures for conducting the fleet and transports round from the Chesapeake to the Delaware, and drew them up on the Pennsylvania side of the shore, from Reedy Island to Newcastle.

Early in October, a detachment from the British army crossed the Delaware, with a view of dislodging the Americans from Billingsport. On their approach the place was evacuated. Batteries soon after were erected on the Pennsylvania side, to assist in dislodging the Americans from Mud Bank. At the same time Count Donop, with two thousand men, having crossed into New-Jersey, marched down on the eastern side of the river, to attack the redoubt at Red Bank, which was defended by four hundred men under Colonel Greene. The attack immediately commenced by a smart cannonade, under cover of which Count Donop advanced to the redoubt. The garrison kept up a severe fire on the assailants, by which they were compelled to retire with the loss of their commander, and four hundred men. An attack made about the same time on Mud Island, by men-of-war and frigates, was equally unsuccessful. The Augusta, of sixty four guns, and the Martin, got aground. The former was fired and blew up; the latter was abandoned.

Though the first attempt for opening the navigation of the Delaware was unsuccessful, the British carried their point in another way that was unexpected.

The chevaux-de-frise having been sunk some time, the current of the water was diverted in new channels; in consequence thereof, the passage between the islands and the Pennsylvania shore, was so deepened, as to admit vessels of considerable burden. Through this passage, the Vigilant, mounted with twenty-four-pounders, made her way to a position from which she was enabled to enfilade the works on Mud Island. This gave the British such an advantage, that the island was no longer tenable. Colonel Smith, the commander of the fort, was wounded, and within five days after, Major Thayer, his successor, was obliged to evacuate it.

The troops who had so bravely defended Mud Island, made a safe retreat to Red Bank. Within three days after Mud Island was evacuated—the garrison was also withdrawn from Red Bank, on the approach of Lord Cornwallis. Thus the British gained a free communication between their army and shipping. They had been previously obliged to draw their provisions from Chester, a distance of sixteen miles, at some risk. The protracted defence of the Delaware, in a measure, deranged the plans of the British, for the remainder of the campaign in this quarter.

General Howe anticipating that the Americans would attempt to retake Red Bank in the Delaware, below Philadelphia, ordered it to be evacuated.

On the night of the fourth of December, Sir William Howe marched out of Philadelphia with his army, and encamped on Chestnut Hill, in front of the right wing of the American army, under Washington. A slight skirmish ensued between the Pennsylvania militia under General Irvine, and the advance of the enemy, in which that general was wounded, and taken prisoner, and the militia, with very little other loss, were dispersed.

The enemy, in the course of the night, changed their ground, and moving to the right, took post within a mile of the Ameri-

can left. A general engagement was now believed certain. Washington ordered General Gist, with the Maryland militia, and Colonel Morgan, with his riflemen, to attack their flank and advanced parties. A sharp action ensued, in which Gist and Morgan were compelled to fall back. General Howe shortly after returned to Philadelphia.

The season was now becoming extremely severe, and it was impossible, with an army not half clothed, and with a very inadequate supply of blankets, any longer to keep the field in tents. It was absolutely necessary to put the army in winter quarters. To this end Washington decamped, and marched to Valley Forge, on the west side of the Schuylkill, twenty-five miles from Philadelphia, and encamped. This position was strong and commanding. The army immediately set about building huts and constructing fortifications; the one for their convenience, and the other for their defence.

Washington, in general orders, expressed to the troops his approbation of their past conduct, presented them with an encouraging state of the future prospects of their country, exhorted them to bear with fortitude, hardships, and endeavoured to induce them to believe, that they were indispensible for the public good.

The winter set in with great severity, and the sufferings of the army were extreme. These sufferings were somewhat mitigated, after the erection of the log huts.

Washington, in the mean while, laboured to cut off all communication between the enemy and the country. His commanding position, in a measure, enabled him to accomplish this. General Smallwood, with one division, was detached to Wilmington, to guard that part of the Delaware; Colonel Morgan, with his corps of riflemen, was sent to the lines on the west side of the Schuylkill; and General Armstrong, with the Pennsylvania militia, was ordered near the Old Camp at White Marsh. These prevented the people from carrying provisions into Philadelphia. To aid in these duties, Major Jameson, with two troops of horse, was directed to guard the east, and Captain Lee with one, the west side of the Schuyl-

kill. Count Pulaski, with the residue of the cavalry, was commanded to repair to Trenton in New-Jersey, and there to act according to circumstances.

While Washington was making these dispositions, in order to straiten the enemy in his quarters, he caused a bridge to be constructed over the Schuylkill, to facilitate ulterior operations. In the course of December, several combats ensued, between small parties of the respective armies.

See Marshall's Life of Washington, Williams' History of Vermont, Wilkinson's Memoirs, and Ramsey's History of the Revolution.

CHAPTER VII.

Suspension of the Colonial Government in 1775—Provincial Congress—Its proceedings—Ratification by the Provincial Congress, of the Declaration of Independence, July 9th, 1776—After the Ratification, the provincial congress styles itself the Convention of the State of New-York—Its deliberations—Preparations for defence—The British obtain possession of Long Island, New-York, &c.—The convention meet at Kingston and frame a Constitution—Its outlines—State Government Organized—First Session of the Legislature, after the adoption of the Constitution—It meets at Poughkeepsie in 1778—Session in 1779—The Legislature meet at Albany in 1780—Its deliberations—The Legislature, in 1781, order fifteen hundred men to be raised, &c.—Enactments in 1782, &c.—Controversy with Vermont resumed.

THIS chapter will be devoted to some of the internal affairs of the state, and the controversy with Vermont, and will embrace the period, from the commencement, to the close of the war.

The revolution occasioned a suspension of the colonial government in New-York. On the twenty-second day of May, 1775, a provincial congress, composed of delegates from the several counties of the province, convened in the city of New-York, in order to devise means of defence, and agree upon some form of government. Governor Tryon, who was then in the city of New-York, withdrew, and went on board of a British sloop of war, lying in the bay. The Congress, so convened, after deliberation, recommended to the several counties, to appoint county and town committees. This recommendation was complied with forthwith. From that time, to the adoption of the state constitution, at Kingston, in the county of Ulster, on the twentieth day of April, 1777, the government was adminis-

tered by a provincial congress, aided by town and county committees.

In August, 1775, the provincial congress re-organized the militia of the colony of New-York, and soon after appointed officers to command them. On the twenty-eighth of that month, the Congress elected General Woodhull their president.

On the ninth day of July, 1776, the provincial congress met again at White Plains, in the county of Westchester, and ratified, on the part of the people of this state, the declaration of independence, which had been adopted by the continental congress of the United States, on the fourth day of July, and immediately assumed the style of the convention of the people of the state of New-York, and set about framing a state constitution, which was not completed till the twentieth day of April, in the year following.

Previous to the meeting of the provincial congress at White Plains, preparations were made to repel the enemy, in case he should attempt to invade the state.

On the twentieth of July, 1776, the convention at White Plains ordered large drafts of militia to be made, and to be ready for immediate service. In the counties of Westchester, New-York, King's, Queen's and Suffolk, the numbers drafted, amounted to one-fourth of the whole. Those of Suffolk, Queen's and King's, marched to Brooklyn, early in August, where they were placed under the command of General Woodhull. The militia, so ordered out, joined the army of Washington.

The convention convened at Harlaem, on Manhattan Island, on the twenty-ninth day of July, in the same year, pursuant to adjournment. Here they passed sundry resolutions.

On the twenty-ninth of August, the convention, in consequence of the near approach of the enemy, adjourned to meet at Fishkill, in the county of Dutchess, on the second day of September.

The enemy, about this time, obtained complete possession of the city and county of New-York, and Long Island, and Staten Island, which they held to the peace in 1783.

By an ordinance, passed by the convention who framed the state constitution, it was provided, that that part of the state which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, should be represented in the senate and assembly, by a proportional number of members, selected from those who had retired from those counties within the American lines.

The convention that framed the state constitution was composed of delegates from the counties of New-York, Richmond, King's, Queen's, Suffolk, Westchester, Dutchess, Orange, Ulster, Albany, Tryon, Charlotte, Cumberland and Gloucester. The two latter counties now compose part of the state of Vermont. Leonard Gansevoort was elected president.

The framing of a constitution for the state, and the organization of a government under it, were done in accordance to a resolution of the continental congress. The following is a transcript of the resolution of that body to the provincial congress of New-York.

"*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the respective assemblies and conventions of the United Colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs, has been hitherto established, to adopt such as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general."

The constitution which was made and adopted in pursuance of the foregoing resolution, vested the supreme legislative power in two depositories, the one called the assembly and the other the senate, who, together, were to form the legislature. These were to meet at least once a-year for the transaction of business. The supreme executive power and authority were vested in a governor. The assembly was to consist of at least seventy members, who were to be chosen by the people every year. The senate was to consist of twenty-four members, to be elected for four years. The members of the latter body, after their election, were to be divided into four classes; the seat of one being to be vacated every year, and its place supplied by an annual election of a number, corresponding

with those whose seats were to be thus vacated. The governor and lieutenant-governor were to be elected for three years. The former, by virtue of his office, was to be commander-in-chief of all the militia, and admiral of the navy of the state. He was to have power to convene and prorogue the legislature from time to time; and to grant reprieves and pardons to persons convicted of crimes, other than treason and murder, in which cases he might suspend the execution of the sentence till the same should be reported to the legislature. The governor was required to inform the legislature, at every session, of the condition of the state; and to recommend such matters to their consideration, as should appear to him, to concern its welfare, prosperity and good government; correspond with the continental congress, and other states; transact all business with the officers of government, civil and military; and take care that the laws should be faithfully executed.

The lieutenant-governor was to be president of the senate; and in case of the death, impeachment, removal, resignation or absence of the governor, he was to exercise all the powers and duties appertaining to governor.

The appointment of officers, except in a few cases, was vested in the governor; and a council, consisting of four senators, to be taken from the four senatorial districts. The senators were to be chosen by the assembly every year, and were not to be eligible to the council for two years in succession. The governor and the four senators were to be denominated the council of appointment. The governor, for the time being, or the lieutenant-governor, when the government should devolve on him, was to be the president, and to have a casting voice. All officers, both civil and military, except the chancellor and judges of the supreme court, and the first judge of every county, were to hold their offices during the pleasure of the council. The chancellor and judges were to hold their offices during good behaviour, or until they should respectively attain the age of sixty years. Supervisors, town-clerks, assessors, collectors and constables, and all other officers heretofore elected by the people, were to be elected as formerly. Delegates

to the continental congress, were to be chosen by the senate and assembly.

The style of all laws was fixed on, and the manner that writs, and other processes, were to run in.

A court for the trial of impeachments and the correction of errors, was provided for. This court was to consist of the president of the senate, the chancellor and judges of the supreme court and the senators, and was to have appellate jurisdiction of all causes brought before it from the supreme and chancery courts, and was to be the last resort.

The constitution provided, that such parts of the common law of England, and the statute law of England and Great Britain, and the acts of the legislature of the colony of New-York, as together did form the law of the said colony, on the nineteenth day of April, 1775, should be continued the law of the state, subject to such alterations and provision as the legislature should from time to time make. Such parts of the common law, and such acts as might be construed to the establishment and maintenance of any particular denomination of christians, or their ministers, or as concerned the allegiance yielded to the King of Great Britain, or as were repugnant to the constitution, were to be abrogated.

All grants of land, within the state, made by the King of Great Britain, or persons acting under his authority, after the fourteenth day of October, 1775, were to be null and void; and all made prior to that day, were to be confirmed.

The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, were to be allowed in said state, to all mankind. Ministers or priests were to be ineligible to office.

The militia of the state, were at all times, as well in peace as in war, to be armed, officered, disciplined, and in readiness for service when called on. Magazines of warlike stores were to be prepared, and kept at the expense of the state.

Trial by jury, in all cases in which it had heretofore been used in the colony of New-York, was to be established, and to remain inviolable for ever.

All new courts were to proceed according to the common law; and the legislature were not at any time thereafter to institute any new court or courts, but such as should proceed conformable to the course prescribed by the common law.

Aliens, or such persons as were born without the United States, were to be naturalized at the discretion of the legislature, and in such manner as should be provided from time to time.

Such were the great outlines of the constitution adopted at Kingston, on the twentieth day of April, 1777. Its provisions in general were ample. It embraced the outlines of a state government; defined the powers and duties of the executive, legislative, judicial, and military departments; prescribed the mode of elections, and secured to the citizens their natural and unalienable rights. From the adoption of this instrument to the present day, the state of New-York has been under the empire of laws either framed or adopted by representatives elected by the spontaneous suffrages of her citizens. These laws, in general, have been enacted with wisdom, and in regard to the constitution.

The constitution adopted in 1777 was amended in 1801, and abrogated in 1823. The present constitution of the state embraces most of the leading outlines of that of 1777; but to give them at present would be foreign to our subject. The first constitution, taking it all in all, with its amendments, was better calculated to secure and protect the rights of the citizens, and conduce to the general happiness of the people, than the new; but it is not our province to point out the advantages of the one or the defects of the other.

The provincial congress of New-York had, at a very early period of the revolution, adopted, in common with the other states, defensive measures. Four regiments of men, besides the continental contingent, which consisted of five regiments, were levied and equipped as early as the month of May, 1776. The former were mostly employed in the defence of the city of New-York, and the posts on the frontiers. The latter were either with Washington, or in Canada with the other contin-

tal forces. After the defeat of the Americans on Long Island, and the evacuation of the city of New-York, and the surrender of Fort Washington, near Kingsbridge, on Manhattan Island, the troops constituting those called the New-York line, or state troops, became so reduced, that it became necessary to consolidate the regiments into two. The great footing the enemy had obtained in the state, being completely possessed of five of its counties, and these the most populous and wealthy, in a measure prevented the filling up of the regiments, and keeping on foot so extensive an establishment as had been contemplated.

The garrisons on the frontiers of the counties of Orange, Ulster, Albany, and Tryon, during the war, consisted mostly of militia, drafted from time to time, the state troops being located at particular places. In the districts most expcsed, the inhabitants dwelt in garrisons, and cultivated the lands around them. This rendered the duty of those doubly severe. Alarms were frequent. In some instances, small districts had to be abandoned, the inhabitants not being able to defend them; and government was not in a situation to give necessary aids. But the particulars in relation to the depredations of the enemy, will be found more at large in the succeeding chapter.

The first session of the legislature, after the adoption of the constitution in 1777, was held at Poughkeepsie, in the county of Dutchess, in the year 1778. On the sixteenth of March, in that year, they passed an act to organize the government of the state, according to the mode prescribed by the constitution. Several other acts were passed at the same session.

The second session of the legislature was held at the same place, in the months of February and March, 1779. At this session, as well as at the preceding, measures were adopted for the defence of the state, and aids provided for the augmentation of the continental armies. This state, like the others, had its state troops and its continentals. The latter, however, were under the control of Congress, and were commanded by officers appointed by that body.

The third session of the legislature was held at Kingston, in

the county of Ulster, in October, 1779. At this session, among other laws passed, there was one for the forfeiture and sale of the estates of persons who had adhered to the enemy.

The fourth session of the legislature was held at the city of Albany, in the winter of 1780. Among the laws enacted, there was one to facilitate the completion of the articles of confederation, and perpetual union among the United States of America. The legislature seems to have been induced to the enactment of this law, by the recommendation of Congress. Previous to this, the Continental Congress had recommended such a measure to all the states. To some states the recommendation proved acceptable, and to others not. Congress, in addition to the recommendation for a union and confederation of all the states, desired, that portions of the waste and uncultivated territories should be ceded to the United States, and be at its disposition, in order to create a common fund, to defray the expenses of the present arduous war. The act now passed by the legislature of the state of New-York, besides providing for facilitating the completion of a lasting union, gave Congress power to limit and restrict the boundaries of this state, in the western parts, by such line and in such manner as they should judge expedient, either with respect to the jurisdiction, as well as the right of pre-emption of soil; or reserving the jurisdiction, in part or in whole, over the lands which might be ceded. The lands to be thus ceded, were to be and enure for the use and benefit of such of the United States as should become members of the federal alliance, and for no other use or purpose. The tract ceded embraces what is now known by the name of the Pennsylvania Triangle, and lies west of the county of Chateauque. The cession proved of little or no use, and by some means came into the possession of the latter state.

An act for raising five millions of dollars within the state, was passed at the same session. The tenth section of this act made special provision for collecting the double taxes charged on the lands of persons who had removed within the enemy's lines. In 1778, a law had been made, imposing heavy taxes on such as left them and removed within the lines of the enemy.

The fourth session of the legislature was held at the city of Albany in the winter of 1781. The house, on the twentieth of March, enacted, that two regiments, to contain in the aggregate, fifteen hundred men, in addition to those already in service, should be raised for the defence of the state, and that the same should continue in service for three years from their enlistment, unless sooner discharged. The officers, by the act, were to be appointed by the governor and council. From the words of the act it would appear, that the legislature contemplated that these troops should be paid, clothed, subsisted, armed and equipped by the United States. The faith of the state was pledged to the officers and soldiers, that lands should be granted to them as a compensation for their services; and that they should be allowed to locate the same among the lands already not appropriated. The troops raised under this act were to be subject to the rules and articles of war, established for the regulation of the army of the United States, and to be under the command of Washington. These regiments were not to serve out of the state, without the orders of the governor.

The owners of slaves, on delivering one or more to serve in the said regiments, were entitled to grants of lands similar to those made to the soldiers. Such slaves as were delivered over by their masters, and served till the term expired, were to be manumitted. The act contained this singular proviso, that all lands granted for services rendered, should be forfeited within three years, unless settled. The proviso was well calculated to throw all or most of the lands, thus earned by the hard service of the soldiers, into the hands of speculators, who could from time to time procure the enactment of laws confirmatory of their titles, without complying with the original requirements, and this, probably, was the object of the more knowing ones amongst the enactors. At the time this law was made, nearly the whole of the state was covered with woods, only about one-thirtieth part being improved; and the greater part of the wild lands, situated in the vicinity of the settlements, was already in the hands of patentees. Access to the vacant lands was difficult. Roads had to be opened, houses built, and provisions,

till improvements were made, and returns had from the earth, were to be brought a great distance. Such was the situation of the lands, and circumstanced as every thing was, it must have been manifest, to persons of moderate discernment, that the proviso was of such a nature as to work a forfeiture.

An act enabling the executive to exchange persons applying for that purpose, as prisoners of war, for the subjects of the state, in the custody of the enemy, was also made.

Provision was provided for the troops then in the service of the state. The great extent of the frontiers of this state at that time, and the smallness of the population, rendered the defence extremely difficult, and in some measure impracticable, since the enemy could select his points of attack. The Mohawk, Schoharie, and Minisink districts, from their remote and border situation, were the most exposed; and in truth, these districts were nearly desolated by the frequent inroads made.

The legislature held their fifth session at Poughkeepsie, in the winter of 1782. At this session, as at former sessions, provision was made to complete the troops of the line of this state, which were in the service of the United States, and also to complete the two regiments, which had been levied the preceding year on bounties of vacant lands.

The predatory warfare, carried on by the enemy, imposed very heavy military duties on the citizens of this state. No state belonging to the confederation was so much exposed, and no one suffered so many and great losses. The head-quarters of all the British armies, were at the city of New-York, and had been since the first of September, 1776.

On the eleventh day of April, in the same year, the legislature incorporated a bank, called the bank of North America, and enacted, that no other bank should be established in the State. This bank was common to all the states, and was incorporated in this state, pursuant to a resolution of Congress, made the twenty-sixth day of May, 1781. The following is the substance of the resolution: "Resolved that Congress do approve of the plan for establishing a national bank, submitted to their consideration; and that they will promote and support

the same by such ways and means, as will be consistent with the public good," &c. And that it be recommended to the several states to provide, that no other bank or banks be established during the war. That the notes to be issued shall be received in payment of taxes, duties, and debts payable to the United States.

Congress also recommended to the several states, to pass laws, making the counterfeiting of the bills felony, without benefit of clergy, and punishable with death. The legislature passed a law to that effect.

The object of getting up this bank seems to have been to increase the finances of the United States, and to aid in carrying on the war.

In July, 1782, a law was enacted, prohibiting grants or locations of lands in the county of Tryon. The law specifies, that all lands situated in said county, and which are bounded on the north by Lake Ontario, Onondaga river, (Oswego River) and Oneida Lake; on the west by a line drawn from the mouth of Great Sodus, or Assorodus Creek (we suppose Sodus Bay.) through the most westerly inclination of Seneca Lake; on the south by an east and west line, drawn through the most southerly inclination of Seneca Lake; and on the east by a line drawn from the most westerly boundary of the Oneida or Tuscarora country, on the Oneida Lake, through the most westerly inclination of the west bounds of the Oneida or Tuscarora country, shall be set apart for the officers and soldiers of this state, who should serve in the army of the United States, agreeable to law. The lands within the preceding boundaries, at present comprise what is called the military tract—but further concerning these lands hereafter.

The sixth session of the legislature was held at Kingston, in the county of Ulster, in the winter of 1783. At this session, divers acts were enacted; some to raise troops, and provide for those in service; and others to prevent private lotteries, incorporate churches, repair roads, &c.

It has already been remarked, that the enemy, after the battle of Long Island, in August, 1776, possessed himself of that

island, and the city and county of New-York, and held them to the peace of 1783. Besides these, the enemy was in possession of Fort Oswegatchie on the St. Lawrence, Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario, at the mouth of Oswego river, and Fort Niagara at the mouth of the River Niagara. These were not given up till the year 1796. The possession of these forts connected Detroit, Mackinaw, and other posts on the lakes, with Montreal, and gave the enemy an unbounded influence over the Indians residing around the lakes, and in the interior and western parts of this state. Their reduction, owing to the weakness of the state and the difficulty of access, was not undertaken; an enterprise against Oswego, which miscarried, excepted. This was attempted in winter, but the detachment of troops employed were obliged to relinquish it, after they had proceeded as far as the outlet of Oneida Lake, in consequence of the depth of the snow, and the severity of the weather. Could the state have obtained possession of the posts occupied by the enemy on its frontiers, it would have greatly impaired the influence of the British over the Indian tribes, and might have prevented most of the devastations committed on the border settlements. All the inroads were made on the side of the lakes. The tories repaired to these posts, and aided in getting up expeditions. The Indians also repaired to these posts to trade. There they were supplied with arms and ammunition. There also they were excited, by the enemy's agents, to do acts which they would not have done otherwise. The Onondagas and Cayugas lived in the neighbourhood of Oswego, and the Senecas in that of Niagara. They were in the constant habit of intercourse with the traders, agents and garrisons of these places. The remoteness of their situation, and the difficulty of access, occasioned little or no apprehension of a visit from the Americans, before the expeditions made in 1779. The Oneidas residing near Fort Stanwix, and our settlements on the contrary, being influenced by our people, in consequence of their intercourse with them, or dreading an invasion, remained neutral throughout the war. The state government, after the defection of the Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, in 1776,

lest the Oneidas might be induced to take up arms, prevailed on them to remove from their habitations to Schenectady.—Here they were provided for till the year 1784, when they returned again to their possessions. The friendship and neutrality of the Oneidas were very beneficial to the border inhabitants. These, although they could not have brought into the field over two hundred and fifty, or three hundred warriors, might have considerably increased the calamities of the frontier settlers.

The remainder of this chapter we shall devote mostly to the controversy between this state and the people of Vermont, during the revolution. In a former chapter we have spoken concerning the origin of this controversy, and such things as appertained to it before the revolution. The controversy being a subject of considerable interest, is taken up separately. This we have done, to the end, that the reader might the more readily understand it.

On the sixteenth day of January, 1776, a convention met at Dorset, and drew up a petition to Congress.

In this they avowed their willingness to bear a proportion in the war, manifested their zeal in the common cause, and professed their readiness to contribute in men and money whenever called upon by Congress ; but at the same time they declared, that they were unwilling to put themselves under the government of New-York.

This was the first formal application which they made to Congress. The petition was referred to a committee, who reported that it was their opinion, that it be recommended to the petitioners for the present, to submit to the government of the state of New-York, and assist their countrymen in the contest with Great Britain.

In August, 1776, the convention of the state of New York, voted that all quit-rents formerly due to the kingdom of Great Britain, are now due and owing to the state. This vote, which was as impolitic and as unjust, as it had been in the late government to make it, revived the controversy and excited alarms which were artfully fomented by the leaders. Some were for

uniting with New Hampshire, and disclaiming all dependence upon New-York, but that state disclaimed all right to the territory, and refused to have any political connexion with the inhabitants—others expressed a desire to return under the government of New-York. But the more resolute and numerous body, were for establishing a government independent of either. A meeting of fifty-one members, from thirty-five of the disaffected towns, was held at Dorset. Here they entered into an association for the purpose of resisting the enforcement of the laws of New-York, and for the purpose of opposing Great Britain.

They denounced all persons who should join with the convention of the state of New-York. They petitioned Congress again, that the disaffected district might be received and ranked among the independent states of America, and that delegates therefrom might be admitted into that body. This petition was presented by four of the leaders.

The proceedings of this meeting were viewed by the people of New-York and New England in very different lights. The former considered them as subversive of the laws, and as tending to rebellion. The latter rather commended than censured them. They viewed the course pursued by New-York to be the same as that which the royal government had pursued—indeed it was—the lands had been, and still were, the boon of contention.

The colonial government had determined to dispossess the proprietors—the state government, which had supplanted the royal, was bent on carrying the determination of its predecessors, however impolitic or unjust, into execution. It had imbibed all the feudal notions of the former, and there was no check but force—there was no majesty to interpose.

About this time, the committee of public safety of the state of New-York, in the plenitude of their power, took up the matter, and by their direction, Mr. A. Ten Brook, the president of the convention, on the twentieth day of January, 1777, gave this information to Congress :—" I am instructed by the committee of public safety of the state of New-York," says he, " to

inform Congress, that by the arts and influence of certain designing men, a part of this state hath been prevailed to revolt, and disavow the authority of its legislature." "The various evidences and informations we have received, would lead to believe, that persons of great influence, in some of our sister states, have fostered and fomented these divisions: But as these informations tend to accuse some of the members of your honourable body, of being concerned in this scheme, decency obliges us to suspend our belief. The convention are sorry to observe, that by conferring the commission of colonel upon Mr. Seth Warner, one of the leaders, with authority to name the officers of a regiment, to be raised independently of the legislature of this state, and within that part of it which hath lately declared an independence upon it, Congress hath given but too much weight to the insinuations of those, who pretend that your honourable body are determined to support these insurgents, especially, as Mr. Warner hath been constantly opposed to the legislature of this state and its laws; and hath, on that very occasion, been proclaimed an outlaw by the late governor. It is absolutely necessary to recall the commissions given to Mr. Warner, and the officers under him, as nothing else will do justice to us, and convince those deluded people, that Congress have not been prevailed on to assist in dismembering a state, which of all others, has suffered the most in the common cause." This communication, abounding with warmth, and expressions tending to irritate, widened the breach, and accelerated the separation.

On the first of March, in the same year, the convention of New-York renewed their representation to Congress. In this they say, that they depend upon the justice of that body, to adopt every wise and salutary expedient to suppress the mischiefs which must ensue to the state, and the general confederacy, from the unjust and pernicious projects of such of the inhabitants of New-York, as merely, from selfish and interested motives, have fomented the dangerous insurrection: "That Congress might be assured that the spirit of defection, notwithstanding all the arts and violence of the seducers, was by no

means general: That the county of Gloucester, and a very great part of Cumberland and Charlotte counties, continued steadfast in their allegiance to the government of New-York: And that there was not the least probability that Mr. Warner could raise such a number of men as would be an object of public moment."

This, as well as the preceding, was by no means calculated to concilitate the minds of the disaffected, whose all was at stake. The people of Vermont were uniformly represented as rebels. The rulers of the state of New-York had taken very nearly the same grounds that the colonial government had, and evinced an unwillingness to come to any terms, short of an absolute surrender by the inhabitants of their lands, and an abject submission. They did not consider that the dispute originally arose about the wild lands, granted by New Hampshire, and that this was the source of the whole controversy. The lands had cost the government of the state of New-York nothing. They had formerly been wild, and were now partly improved. An active and industrious population had been introduced, which might have added strength and importance to the state, under conciliatory and equitable laws. New-York wanted inhabitants; she was mostly covered with forests; she was then nearly a wilderness. A single act of the legislature, confirmatory of the New Hampshire grants, would have quieted all, restored peace and harmony, and put an end to the controversy. But this must not be done: There was too much interest at stake: The lands which had been settled, had become valuable, and were becoming more so every day: A certain description of land-jobbers must be benefited. Instead, therefore, of pursuing mild and equitable measures, the very reverse were resorted to, and an everlasting separation occasioned.

The proceedings of the people of Vermont, and the measures pursued by the government of New-York, had already become objects of considerable attention in the neighbouring states.—The former seemed to be commended and the latter censured.

In April, 1777, a paper was printed at Philadelphia, which

was addressed to the people of Vermont. To this address was prefixed a resolution which Congress had passed May 15, 1776. The resolution, with its appendages, appeared to favour the wishes and course pursued by the inhabitants of Vermont.—The paper and resolution, with the opinion of several leading members of Congress, recommending a convention, the choosing of delegates to Congress, a committee of public safety, and the formation of a constitution, occasioned considerable indignation in New-York. The council of public safety directed their president, Mr. Pierre Van Cortlandt, to write to Congress on this subject. Agreeable to their direction, Mr. Van Cortlandt, on the twenty-eighth day of May, 1777, informed that body that a report prevailed, and daily gained credit, that the revolters were privately countenanced in their designs, by certain members of Congress: That the council of safety esteemed it their duty to give them such intelligence, that by proper resolutions on the subject, Congress might cease to be injured by imputations so disgraceful and dishonourable. However unwilling we may be to entertain suspicions so disrespectful to any member of Congress, yet the truth is, that no inconsiderable number of the people of this state do believe the report to be well-founded.

On the twenty-third day of June, 1777, one of the delegates from New-York laid before Congress the printed paper, published at Philadelphia, containing the resolution of that body, and the opinion of some of its leading members, and requested a decision. Congress ordered the printed paper, the letters from Messrs. Ten Brook and Van Cortlandt, and those from the inhabitants of Vermont, to be referred to a committee of the whole. On the 30th of June, they passed several resolves, among which we shall copy the following:—

" *Resolved*, That the independent government, attempted to be established by the people, styling themselves inhabitants of the New Hampshire grants, can derive no countenance or justification from the act of Congress, declaring the United Colonies to be independent of the crown of Great Britain, nor from any other resolution of Congress."

"*Resolved*, That the petition of Joseph Fay, and others, in the name and behalf of the people styling themselves as aforesaid, praying, in their declaration, that they would consider themselves as a free and independent state, may be received; that the district, in the said petition described, may be ranked among the free and independent states; and that delegates therefrom may be admitted to seats in Congress, be dismissed."

"*Resolved*, That Congress, by raising and officering the regiment commanded by Colonel Warner, never meant to give any encouragement to the claim of the people aforesaid, to be considered as an independent state."

They also passed a resolution, that the contents of the paragraph appended to their resolution of May 15th, 1776, and published at Philadelphia in the month of April, 1777, were gross misrepresentations, and calculated to mislead the people.

These resolves were favourable to the claims of the state of New-York, and evinced a wish, on the part of Congress, not to interfere in the controversy. At this late period a reconciliation might have been brought about, had the rulers moderated their claims and confirmed the New Hampshire grants. The people of Vermont had failed in their application for admission into the confederacy. They were wearied of the controversy, and would gladly have submitted, had their property and liberties been guaranteed to them. But the resolves tended to encourage the rulers of New-York to persist, and to take stronger grounds. The people of Vermont became every day more determined, when they saw that all the avenues to conciliation, and the security of their dearest rights, were barred.

They assembled, and formed themselves into a commonwealth, elected a governor, and chose members of assembly. Such was the state of things in Vermont, when General Burgoyne compelled the northern army to abandon Ticonderoga. Soon after this event a dispute arose between Vermont and New Hampshire. This was occasioned in consequence of the inhabitants, on the east side of Connecticut River, desiring to unite with the Vermontese in the erection of a new state. Sixteen towns of New Hampshire disclaimed all connexion with the parent state.

In 1778, the legislature of Vermont voted that these towns should be admitted. At the next meeting the members from the sixteen towns, together with fifteen others, withdrew, because the house refused to erect a county on the east side of the river, and formed themselves into a convention, and invited the towns on both sides of the river to meet with them. On the ninth day of December, 1778, they convened at Corinth, where it was proposed to form a state from the west part of New Hampshire and the east part of Vermont. In February, 1779, the Vermontese assembly abrogated the union with the sixteen towns, and limited their views on the east to Connecticut River.

Not long after this, New Hampshire put in a claim for the whole tract of country, comprising the state of Vermont. This claim was laid before Congress. New-York also renewed her claim, and laid it before the same body.

The people of Vermont became more alarmed than ever. They imagined that the claimants had agreed upon a division of the country between them.

About the same time, Massachusetts likewise put in a claim. Thus three states had entered the lists for the contested territory.

Mr. Clinton, the governor of the state of New-York, wrote, on the seventh of July, 1780, to one of his friends in Vermont, that he would still, as on a former occasion, earnestly recommend prudent resistance to the drafting of men, raising taxes, and the exercise of every act of government, under the *ideal Vermont state;* and that in those towns where the friends of the government were sufficiently powerful for the purpose, he would advise associations for the mutual defence of their persons and estates, against usurpation. The usurpation here complained of, consisted in the manly defence of the Vermontese in their estates and persons, against unjust laws.

In a letter of July 8th, he warmly urged Congress to come to a decision. He censured the inhabitants for the violence of their proceedings, averred that it would soon bring on a civil war, and that all the grievances which the people had suffered,

arose from the late royal government of the province of New-York, and not from the present. This was very quaint reasoning, and not at all to the purpose. The governor and his friends were following the very footsteps of the royal government.

In 1779, the controversy bore a very hostile appearance. The inhabitants in Cumberland had, in general, been well affected towards the government of the state of New-York, and showed an unwillingness to unite in the erection of a new state. This gave umbrage: Colonel Ethan Allen, the principal leader, was directed by the Vermontese government to assemble a part of the militia and march into Cumberland, and coerce the inhabitants to renounce the government of New-York, and acknowledge that of Vermont. Upon obtaining intelligence of this, Colonel Patterson, the commander of the militia of Cumberland, wrote to Mr. Clinton, for advice and directions how to act. In answer, Mr. Clinton recommended firmness and prudence, and assured him, that if it became necessary, he would order out a detachment of militia to protect the people.

Allen, after having collected a large body of men, marched into Cumberland, and seized Colonel Patterson and others, acting under the state of New-York.

Mr. Clinton, on the 18th of May, 1779, immediately after the receipt of Colonel Patterson's letter, wrote to the president of the Congress, that matters were fast approaching a very serious crisis; that he daily expected he should be obliged to order out a force to protect the orderly disposed in the disaffected district; that justice, the faith of government, the peace and safety of society, would not permit him to continue much longer a passive spectator of the violence committed on his fellow-citizens.

His letter, and other papers, relating to the disputes with New Hampshire, were laid before Congress on the 29th of May, 1779, and were referred to a committee of the whole. On the first of June, Congress, who understood the policy of the leading men of New-York in relation to the dispute, resolved. that a committee be appointed to repair to Vermont, and inquire

into the reasons why the people refused to continue citizens of the respective states which had heretofore exercised jurisdiction over them: And that they should take every prudent measure to promote an amicable settlement of all differences.

On the seventh of June, Mr. Clinton wrote again to Congress, informing them of the invasion of Cumberland by Allen, the seizure of the officers, and other acts of violence. On the 16th, Congress directed that they should be released.

The committee appointed by Congress to inquire into the causes of the differences between the Vermontese and the neighbouring states, consisted of five persons, but only two, Dr. Witherspoon and a Mr. Atle, attended. These gentlemen went to Bennington in the latter month, where they made many inquiries, and had several conferences with the leaders of the Vermontese, and several of the inhabitants friendly to the administration of New-York. They endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation, but without effect.

Three different claims were now before Congress to the same tract of country. It had, in some measure, become necessary for that body to take up the subject, and canvass the rights of the several claimants, as well as those of the people, whose lands and liberties were at stake, and make some decision. Accordingly, on the 24th of September, 1779, Congress, among other resolves, passed the following:

"*Resolved*, unanimously, That it be, and hereby is, most earnestly recommended to the states of New-York, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, forthwith to pass laws expressly, authorizing Congress to hear and determine all differences between them, relative to their respective boundaries."

"*Resolved*, That Congress will, on the first day of February next, proceed to hear and examine into the disputes and differences relative to the jurisdiction between the three states respectively, or such of them as shall pass the laws before mentioned, on the one part, and the people of the district aforesaid, on the other part; and after a full hearing, will determine the same."

"*Resolved*, That it is the duty of the people of the district

aforesaid, to abstain, in the mean time, from exercising any power over any of the inhabitants of the said district, who profess themselves to be citizens of, or to owe allegiance to any, or either of the said states; but that none of the towns, either on the east or west side of Connecticut river be considered as within the said district, but such as have hitherto actually joined in denying the jurisdiction of either of the said states, and have assumed a separate jurisdiction, which they call the state of Vermont."

"And further, That in the opinion of Congress, the said three states, ought, in the mean time, to suspend executing their laws over any of the inhabitants of said district, except such of them as shall profess allegiance to, and confess the jurisdiction of the same respectfully."

"*Resolved*, That in the opinion of Congress, no unappropriated lands or estates which are, or may be adjudged, forfeited, lying in said district, ought, until the final decision of Congress, to be granted or sold."

From these resolves, it is pretty obvious that Congress wished to quiet all parties, and to evade a decision. In truth, that body could have done little, had it been disposed.

The states of New-York and New Hampshire passed the acts, but Massachusetts did not.

The Vermontese were highly displeased, and refused to comply with the resolves. The leaders published an address to the people of the United States, in which they declared that they could not view themselves as holden to submit to the execution of a plan, which they had reason to believe, was commenced by the neighbouring states: That the liberties and privileges of the state of Vermont, by said resolutions, were to be suspended upon the arbitrament and determination of Congress. That that body had no right to intermeddle in the internal police and government of Vermont: That the state existed, independent of any of the thirteen states, and was not accountable to them or to their representatives.

That the state of Vermont was not represented in Congress, and could not submit to resolutions passed without its consent.

That there appeared a manifest inequality, not to say predetermination, that Congress should request of their constituents, power to judge and determine the cause, and never ask the consent of thousands whose all was at stake. They also declared that they were, and had ever been ready to bear their proportion of the burden and expense of the war with Great Britain, whenever they were admitted into the confederacy.

This appeal was published on the tenth day of December, 1779, and had, in some respects, the effect contemplated. Congress, however, in consequence of the great press of business before them, did not take up the subject, pursuant to their resolution.

On the twenty-first of March, 1780, it was taken up by that body, and postponed indefinitely. Congress, on the second of June, resolved, that the proceedings of the people of the New Hampshire grants, were highly unwarrantable and subversive of the peace and welfare of the United States; and that they be strictly required to forbear from any acts of authority, civil or military, over those of the people who professed allegiance to other states. This resolution had, in some measure, become necessary, from the frequent outrages committed on the peaceably disposed. On the ninth of June, they deferred the further consideration of the matter, to the second Tuesday in September.

Upon the receipt of these resolves, the governor and council of Vermont replied, that however Congress might view these resolutions, they were considered by the Vermontese in a different light: That Vermont being a free and independent state, had denied the authority of Congress to judge of their jurisdiction: That as they were not included in the thirteen states, if necessitated to it, they were at liberty to offer or accept terms of cessation of hostilities with Great Britain.

The claims of New-York and New Hampshire were shortly after brought up before Congress. Both alleged that the Vermontese had no right to establish an independent state. Agents, on the behalf of the Vermontese, were also present. But Congress did not acknowledge them as such. The investigation

commenced on the nineteenth of September, and closed on the twenty-seventh, when Congress resolved, that the further consideration of the matters should be postponed indefinitely. The Vermontese agents protested against the whole proceedings, in consequence of their not being accredited.

Disappointed in their expectations of being admitted into the confederation, the leaders sent letters to some influential men in the western towns of New Hampshire, proposing a convention at Charlestown, on Connecticut River, and a union with those towns. A convention was accordingly got up, and a committee was appointed to confer with the legislature of Vermont. A conference was had and a union entered into in February, 1781.

About this time certain of the Vermontese leaders opened a correspondence with the British generals in Canada. Inducements were held out, but no arrangements were entered into. From these the British generals anticipated that beneficial results would redound to their country, in case Vermont should solicit their protection. The correspondence, it would seem, had been begun anterior to the time stated, and before the thirtieth of March, 1780. This is proved, by a letter, wrote on behalf of the British general, at the city of New-York, by Colonel Robinson, to Ethan Allen, at that time a colonel in the service of the United States. This letter contained some indirect overtures. Allen showed it to some of his associates. Several meetings were held, in which it was concluded not to divulge its contents abroad.

On the second of February, 1781, Colonel Robinson addressed another letter to Allen, in which he avowed objects, and solicited an answer. The latter gave no reply to either, but on the ninth of March, in the same year, forwarded them to Congress. In a letter of the same date, he endeavoured to justify the conduct of the Vermontese, and expressed his determination to do every thing in his power towards the establishment of a state. He averred that the Vermontese had a right to agree to a suspension of arms with Great Britain.

In the spring of 1781, the British made inroads into Vermont, and carried a few prisoners into Canada. An exchange

became necessary. A flag of truce was sent by the Vermontese into that province, to effect the exchanges. General Haldimand, the governor of Canada, complied with the request, and a release was made. In the fall the British came up the lake with some forces. The commanding officer brought a letter from the governor to Mr. Chittenden, the executive of Vermont; and sent a flag to Ethan Allen, then a brigadier of the Vermontese militia, proposing a cessation of hostilities. This proposal was acceded to on the part of Allen. Mr. Ira Allen, a brother of Ethan, and a Mr. Fay, were appointed commissioners on the part of Vermont, to negotiate an exchange of prisoners. The commissioners of the British were Captain J. Sherwood and a Mr. Smith. These had several meetings, and an exchange was effected. Every thing wore the appearance of an adjustment of difficulties with Great Britain, and an abandonment of the cause of independent America; but an event soon after occurred, which tended to impair the confidence which these meetings had inspired. In the month of October a party of Indians made a descent on Royalton, and did considerable damage.

In September, Fay and Allen, on the part of Vermont, entered into a convention with the governor of Canada, whereby a suspension of arms was agreed upon. After this, the enemy returned all the captives, without ransom. While the Vermontese were conducting these affairs, an event happened, which put an end to them. Lord Cornwallis, with his whole army, were made prisoners. About the same time, the enemy ascended Lake Champlain, with an armed force. The commander sent letters to Charlestown, announcing his arrival, but the leading men of Vermont declined to answer them, or maintain further correspondence. The commander of the enemy, encouraged by the previous correspondence, had been induced to bring printed proclamations for distribution. But the people of Vermont were not prepared for such an event. The correspondence, however, was kept up. Two letters were forwarded by the British to the leaders. In July, 1782, Ira Allen, the brother of Ethan, repaired to Canada, at the instance of Mr.

Chittenden and others, and had an interview with Haldimand, the governor. The object of this mission, it was said, was the exchange of two officers. Mr. Haldimand wrote to Governor Chittenden. His letter bears date August 8th, 1782. In this he assures Mr. Chittenden, the governor of Vermont, that no hostilities should be committed upon the people of that state.

On the 25th of March, 1783, the British agent in Canada wrote a letter on the same and other business. In this, a strong desire is manifested, that a reconciliation may be speedily accomplished between the Vermontese and the mother country, and that the negotiations already begun under such propitious circumstances, may soon be closed.

The peace between the United States and Great Britain put an end to these correspondences. The tract of land comprising Vermont was included within the states.

But to return.—While these correspondences were going on, Congress, on the 7th of August, 1781, resumed the subject matter, which had been laid before them, in relation to the claims of the states of New-York and New-Hampshire, and passed the following resolves, to wit:

" Whereas the states of New-York and New-Hampshire have submitted to Congress the decision of the disputes between them and the people inhabiting the New-Hampshire grants, on the west side of Connecticut River, concerning their respective claims of jurisdiction over the said territory, and have been heard thereon: And whereas the people aforesaid, claim and exercise the power of a sovereign independent state, and have requested to be admitted into the union of the United States of America; in order thereto, and that they may have an opportunity to be heard in vindication of the said claim:

" *Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed to confer with such person or persons as may be appointed by the people residing on the New-Hampshire grants, on the west side of Connecticut River, or by the representative body, respecting the claim to be an independent state, and on what terms it may be proper to admit them into the union of these states, in case the United States, in Congress assembled, shall determine to

recognize their independence and thereon to make report. And it is hereby further recommended to the people of the territory aforesaid, or their representative body, to appoint an agent or agents to repair immediately to Philadelphia, with full powers and instructions to confer with the said committee on the matters aforesaid, and on behalf of the people aforesaid, to agree upon and ratify terms and articles of union and confederation with the United States of America, in case they shall be admitted into the union. And the said committee are hereby instructed to give notice to the agents of the states of New-York and New Hampshire, to be present at the conference aforesaid.

Agents attended on behalf of the people of Vermont, and on the 18th of August, had a conference with said committee. Upon the report of the committee, Congress, on the 20th of August, "*Resolved*, That it be an indispensible preliminary to the recognition of the independence of the Vermontese, and their admission into the compact of the United States, that they relinquish all demands of lands or jurisdiction, on the east side of the west bank of Connecticut River, and on the west side of a line, beginning at the northwestern corner of the state of Massachusetts, thence running twenty miles east of Hudson's River, so far as the said river runs northerly in its general course, then by the west bounds of the townships granted by the late government of New-Hampshire, to the river running from the South Bay to Lake Champlain; thence along the said river, to Lake Champlain; thence along the waters of Lake Champlain, to latitude forty-five degrees north, excepting a neck of land between Missisconi Bay, and the waters of Lake Champlain."

In October, of the same year, these resolves were laid before the assembly of Vermont. After much debate, they determined not to accept of them; and also further, that they would not submit to any arbitrament made by Congress, or any other body of men.

We shall conclude chapter seven, by giving the names of the officers of the revolutionary army, who served in the line of

this state, during the war. The list was furnished me by the Hon. Silas Wood, the author of—*A sketch of the first settlement of Long Island.* It cannot be viewed with indifference by the people of this state, and especially the descendants of those officers. Few, very few of those who served their country in that long, doubtful, and arduous contest are now living.

A list of the Officers of the Revolutionary Army belonging to the line of the State of New-York, who served to the end of the war.

Major-general—Alexander M'Dougall.

Brigadier-general—James Clinton.

Colonels—Peter Gansevoort, John Lamb, William Malcom, James Livingston, Philip Van Cortlandt, Goose Van Schenick.

Lieutenant-colonels—Jacobus Bruen, Robert Cochran, Sidney Hay, Henry B. Livingston, William P. Smith, Ebenezer Stephens, Cornelius Van Dycke, Benjamin Walker, Frederick Weisenfelts, Marinus Willet.

Majors—Sebastian Bauman, John Davis, Nicholas Fish, John Graham, Samuel Logan, Stephen M'Dougall, Lewis M. Malcom, George H. Nicholson, Richard Platt, James Rosecrants.

Captains—Aaron Aerson, Philip D. Beveir, Leonard Bleecker, Thomas T. Bliss, Wm. Bull, John Doughty, Edward Dunscomb, Andrew Finck, George Fleming, Chilson Ford, Theodosious Fowler, Abner French, Henry Goodwin, Charles Graham, Silas Gray, James Gregg, Jonathan Hallet, John F. Hamtramack, Derick Hanson, Benjamin Hicks, Robert Hunter, Cornelius T. Jansen, John Johnson, Abraham Livingston, Thomas Machin, Elihu Marshall, Alexander M'Arthur, Andrew Mordie, Gershom Mott, Abraham Neely, Daniel Nevin, Nathaniel Norton, Jackson Patton, Charles Parsons, Henry Pawling, Solomon Pendleton, Samuel Pell, Benjamin Pelton, Jacob Reid, James Robecheau, John Santford, James Stewart, Israel Smith, Nathan Strong, George Syter, Peter Taulman, Henry Tiebout, Jonathan Titus, John C. Ten Broeck, John D. Ten Eyck, Henry Vanderburgh, John Van Dycke, Peter

J. Vosburgh, Nicholas Van Rensselaer, Anthony Welp, Jacob Wright, Robert Wright, Guy Young.

Lieutenants—Jonas Addoms, Peter Anspack, Edward Armstrong, Josiah Bagley, James Barret, Jerrick Beekman, William Belknap, Robert Bennet, Prentice Bowen, Francis Brindley, James Bradford, Caleb Brewster, James Brewster, Jacobus Bruen, Palmer Cady, Alexander Clinton, Christopher Codwise, William Colbreath, Philip Conine, Michael Conolly, Henry Dember, Daniel Denniston, George Denniston, Henry Dodge, Samuel Dodge, Alexander Down, Joshua Drake, Peter Elsworth, Samuel English, James Fairlie, Joseph Frelick, John Furman, Benjamin Gilbert, Finch Gildersleve, Isaac Guyon, Francis Hanmer, Abraham Hardenburgh, John L. Hardenburgh, Elisha Harvey, Thomas Hunt, Christopher Hutton, James Johnston, David Kirkpatrick, George Laycraft, William Laycraft, Jonathan Lawrence, Abraham Legget, Samuel Lewis, Robert H. Livingston, Alexander M'Arthur, Peter Magee, Anthony Maxwell, John Miles, Francis Monty, William Morris, Ebenezer Mott, Peter Nestel, Charles Nukerk, Hiel Peck, William Pennington, John Reed, Wilhelmus Ryckman, Barent Salisbury, William Scudder, John Shaw, Isaac Smith, John Smith, Ephraim Snow, John Stagg, Cornelius Swartwout, Henry Swartwout, Samuel Tallmage, Peter Tappen, Abraham Ten Eyck, Alexander Thompson, Andrew Thompson, Azariah Tuthill, Peter Van Benschoten, John Van Dycke, Rudolph Van Hovenbarack, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Tobias Van Vechten, Bartholomew Van Volkenburgh, Tunis Van Waggenen, Henry Van Woert, Charles F. Weisenfelts, Jacobus H. Wenden, Ephraim Woodruff, Peter Woodward, Jotham Wright.

Ensigns—John Burr, Nehemiah Carpenter, Samuel Dodge, John Fondy, Douw Fondy, Benjamin Herrin, Garret Lansing, Joseph Morril, William Peters, Robert Provost, Dirck Schuyler, Barnabas Swartwout, Abraham Ten Broeck, Bartholomew Vandenburgh, Robert Wilson.

Physician-general—John Cochran.

Physicians and Surgeons—Geo. Campbell, Charles M'Knight, Joseph Young.

Surgeons—Samuel Cook, George Draper, Daniel Merinamu, Thomas Reid, Caleb Sweet, Nicholas Schuyler, John F. Vachee, Hemlock Woodruff.

Hospital Surgeon—Malachi Treat, John Elliot, *Surgeon's Mate.*

Apothecary-general—J. B. Cutting, Andrew Cragie, *Apothecary.*

The whole number of Revolutionary Officers who served to the end of the war, in the lines of the different states, were 2310.

New Hampshire	79
Massachusetts, including Maine	445
Connecticut	254
Rhode Island	44
New-York	200
New-Jersey	92
Pennsylvania	421
Delaware	32
Maryland	166
Virginia, including Kentucky	337
North Carolina	99
South Carolina	93
Georgia	48

See Wood's Sketch of L. I., Laws of N. Y. v. 1, printed in 1792, Journals of the Assembly, Williams' History of Vermont, &c.

CHAPTER VIII.

Condition of the American army at Valley Forge—Combination to remove Washington from the command—Distresses of the army—Arrival of the Baron Steuben at Valley Forge—The British government appoints commissioners to treat with the Americans about an adjustment of differences—Intelligence of a treaty of alliance with France is brought—British treatment of American prisoners—The British make inroads into New-Jersey from Philadelphia—Sir Henry Clinton evacuates the city of Philadelphia, and marches for New-York—Washington breaks up his camp at Valley Forge, and goes in quest of the British—Battle of Monmouth—Count D'Estaing arrives at Rhode Island with a fleet—The Americans land on Rhode Island—The French fleet puts out to sea in pursuit of the British fleet—Both fleets dispersed by a storm—The French fleet returns to Rhode Island, and goes thence to Boston—The Americans retreat from Rhode Island—Predatory incursions of the British into Connecticut—American army retires into winter quarters at the Highlands—Arrival of the British commissioners—Wyoming laid waste by the tories and Indians—Dispositions made for the invasion of Canada and the protection of the frontier settlements—The British posts at Kaskaskias and St. Vincents taken by Colonel Clark.

1778.—THE condition of the American armies at this time was deplorable. In every division complaints were made of the deficiency of provisions, clothing, blankets, and tents. Some of the troops under Washington showed indications of mutiny. The paper currency had depreciated in value, and the inhabitants would not accept of it in pay for necessaries for the army. At Valley Forge the last ration was delivered, and it became apparent that the army would be dissolved, unless

provisions could be obtained. Under these circumstances, Washington, in order to avert the dissolution of the army and save the states, ordered that the country should be scoured, and provisions taken, wherever found, to supply the urgent wants.

The commissary department organized by Congress was very defective. Frequent representations in relation to this were made to that body, by the commander-in-chief and others, but to no purpose. The seizures produced great irritation, and rendered the cause unpopular with those who were not predisposed to make great sacrifices. Congress had, by a resolution of the seventeenth of September, 1777, which was continued in November, authorized Washington to seize provisions for the army, within seventy miles of his head-quarters. In addition to this, they directed him to issue a proclamation, calling on the farmers within the like distance, to thresh out the one-half of their grain by the first of February, and the residue by the first of March, under the penalty of having the whole seized.

The success of this experiment for subsisting the army by impressments, did not meet the expectations of Congress. Supplies derived by force are precarious. They may relieve for an instant, but eventually prove pernicious. Besides, they spread disaffection among the people; and create in the soldiers a disposition to rob and plunder.

About this time a combination was formed against Washington, in which many members of Congress, and some of the officers, were concerned. The eclat with which the capitulation at Saratoga had surrounded the reputation of General Gates, acquired advocates for the opinion, that the arms of America would be more fortunate, if that gentleman should be elevated to the supreme command. He showed by his conduct, that if he had not originated he at least sanctioned it. He had not only omitted to write to Washington the successes of his army, after the victory of the seventh of October had opened to him the prospect of destroying the enemy's army; but he had carried on a correspondence with General Conway, in which that offi-

cer had expressed himself with great contempt of the commander-in-chief.

The people of Pennsylvania too, chagrined at losing their capital, and unmindful of their own backwardness in strengthening the army, blamed Washington, because he had not, with inferior forces, prevented it and gained splendid victories. The legislature of that state, on the report that he was marching his army into winter quarters, sent a remonstrance to Congress which manifested their disaffection. About this time the board of war, of which Gates was president, appointed General Conway inspector and major-general, without regard to rank.

The machinations which were carrying on against the commander-in-chief did not escape his notice; but they did not in the slightest degree change his measures. His desire to continue at the head of the armies, flowed from the conviction, that in that station he might be useful to his country.

Fortunately for America, the machinations of General Gates and the disaffected members of Congress, were prostrated.

But to return again to the operations of the armies. Washington, to anticipate General Howe, who it was understood had contemplated a post at Wilmington, detached General Smallwood to that place.

To recruit the army for the ensuing campaign was an object of the utmost consideration. From the depreciation of the paper currency, and other causes, little or no hope remained of obtaining any respectable number of men by voluntary enlistments, and coercive means could only be employed by the respective states. To persuade them to comply required all the influence of Washington; and his letters urged them to meet with sufficient means the crisis of the war, which was now approaching.

He exhorted them to place no confidence in foreign aid, but to depend on their own strength and resources, for the maintenance of their independence. He enclosed to each state, a return of its troops on the continental establishment, showing its deficiency which each was urged to supply.

In addition to the other evils which menaced the destruction

of the army, the depreciation of the paper money had become so considerable, and the embarrassments under which commerce laboured, had so enhanced the price of articles imported, that the pay of an officer was no compensation, and would not even furnish him with absolute necessaries, which might give him a decent appearance, or cover his person from the extremes of heat and cold. Those possessing small estates, found them melting away, and others were unable to appear befitting their rank.

In an army raised, as was that of the United States, great inequality of character among the officers was to be expected. The hard and active service was well calculated to ascertain the merit of each individual. It was necessary to purge the army of persons unfit to hold commissions; and the number of the sentences of the courts-martial, manifested their determination to do so; yet a surplus number of officers still remained, so incomplete were the regiments; some who were unable to support themselves, tendered their commissions to the commander-in-chief. Among these were no inconsiderable number who promised to be most the ornaments of the army. Nor could the hope be entertained, that the mischief would stop with the mere loss of officers whose continuance in service might promote the public good.

A general indifference about holding a commission; a general opinion that an obligation was conferred, and not received, by continuing in the army, were very unfavourable not only to that spirit of emulation, which stimulates to warlike deeds, than are required, but to a complete execution of orders.

An officer, whose pride was wounded, whose caprice was not indulged, who apprehended censure for a fault, was ready to throw up his commission.

Washington watched with anxiety the progress of a temper which he feared would increase and be attended with fatal effects.

The weak condition of the regiments, the remonstrances of the general, and the complaints from every quarter, determined Congress to depute a committee of their body, who should

reside in the camp, during the winter, and in concert with the general, investigate the state of the army, and report such reforms as the public good seemed to require.

This committee repaired to head-quarters in January. The commander-in-chief laid before them a statement, in which a view was taken of the army, and in which remedies for the correction of existing evils, as well as regulations essential to the future prosperity of the army, were designated.

The wants and distresses of the army, when seen by the committee, made on them a deep impression. They communicated to Congress the sentiments which were occasioned in their own bosoms, and urged a speedy correction. But Congress proceeded slowly in applying remedies. Much of the sufferings of the army was attributed to neglect in the quartermaster's department. The committee laboured to remove these impressions. Plans were devised by that body, but from their inutility were never approved in the camp. Not long after, the commissary-general of purchases was placed at the head of his department.

The number of regiments, and the apportionment on each state, were taken by Congress, as suggested by Washington, and it was resolved that the several states be required forthwith to fill up, by draughts from their militia, or in any other way that should be effectual, their quotas of continental troops.

While Congress was slowly deliberating on the reforms proposed, the distresses of the army were drawing to a crisis, and its dissolution was threatened. Early in February the commissaries gave notice that the country, to a great distance, was exhausted; and that it would be impracticable to obtain supplies for the army longer than to the end of that month. The general-in-chief, under these circumstances, wrote to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, urging him, if possible, to send on supplies. He detached General Wayne into the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, with orders to seize all horses fit for cavalry or for draught—all cattle and sheep, as well as every species of forage proper for the use of the army.

The inhabitants endeavoured, as much as possible, to defeat

the object of the foraging parties. They secreted their provisions and teams, which gave the country the appearance of having been pillaged. Before sufficient aids could be furnished by these means, the provisions in the camp were exhausted. Thus the troops were destitute of meat, and many of the horses died for want of fodder.

In this exigency, Washington left no means untried to subsist his army. He sent General Greene out, with a numerous detachment, to procure, by any means, immediate supplies.—Captain Lee was ordered to the states of Delaware and Maryland, and Colonel Tilghman to New-Jersey. At the same time he wrote letters to Congress and the state governors, urging them to exert themselves, in order to procure reliefs for the army.

Happily for America, Washington, from his great talents, was enabled, notwithstanding the discordant materials of which his army was composed, to attach the officers and soldiers generally to his person. To this is to be attributed the preservation of the forces under his immediate command, and under situations the most trying.

In the mean time, the army obtained supplies of provisions, which saved it from the impending famine which menaced its dissolution. The strong measures resorted to produced temporary relief.

About the beginning of February, the terms of the militia of Pennsylvania, stationed northeast of the Schuylkill, expired, and they returned home, and those called out to succeed them, did not arrive for some time.

In this interval, while the avenues leading to Philadelphia were unguarded, the enemy obtained considerable supplies from the country.

At no period of the war had the American army been reduced to a situation of greater peril, than during the winter at Valley Forge. Had the enemy marched out of Philadelphia in force, the American army could not have continued in camp. The want of provisions would have forced them out of it; and their deplorable condition, in respect to clothes, would have

prevented them from keeping the field. The returns made on the first day of February, show that three thousand nine hundred and eighty-nine men in camp, were unable to do duty, for want of clothes. Of this number scarcely a soldier had shoes. Even among those returned capable of doing duty, many were so badly clothed, that exposure to the severity of the weather would have destroyed them. Although the total of the army exceeded seventeen thousand men, the effective rank and file scarcely exceeded five thousand.

While the sufferings of the soldiers, first during a winter campaign, and afterwards in what were termed winter-quarters, filled the hospitals with the sick—a dreadful mortality prevailed. The provision made for them, which at best, was inadequate, was misapplied. They were crowded in small apartments, and a putrid fever raged among them which carried off great numbers.

Fortunately for America, the real condition of the army was not well known to General Howe, and that officer had ever been careful of the lives and comfort of his troops. On no occasion had he manifested a disposition to hazard them without a clear advantage. In this particular instance, a winter's expedition against the army at Valley Forge, would have been extremely detrimental to the cause of America. But General Howe confined his operations to small excursions that were calculated to enlarge the comforts of his army, which was much distressed for fuel and forage. The vigilence of the Americans on the lines, intercepted a great proportion of the supplies designed for the British army.

While the defect in the resources, arising from the depreciation of the bills of credit, manifested itself in all the military departments, a plan was matured in Congress, and the board of war, for a second invasion of Canada. It was proposed to place the Marquis de La Fayette at the head of the army, destined for this enterprise, and he accordingly was appointed a major-general.

General de La Fayette, after his appointment, repaired to Albany, in order to place himself at the head of the troops

destined for this service. But soon after his arrival at the latter place, he abandoned the enterprise. This step was rendered necessary in consequence of a want of men.

While the army lay at Valley Forge, the Baron Steuben, a a very meritorious officer, arrived at the camp. The Baron had been an officer in the Prussian service, and came highly recommended. He was well versed in military tactics, and in every respect qualified to instruct raw troops. He claimed no rank, and only proffered his services as a volunteer. In this capacity he performed them so satisfactorily to Washington, that Congress promoted him to the rank of major-general, conditioned to perform the duties of inspector-general.

The Baron soon established one system of military tactics in the American armies.

The surrender of the army of Burgoyne, as has been heretofore stated, made a strong impression on the British nation. This impression, by and by, forced its way into the cabinet, where a plan of pacification was agreed upon.

After the repetition of several motions on the part of the opposition, tending to the abandonment of the war in America, Lord North gave notice in the house of commons, that he had matured a plan of reconciliation between Great Britain and her colonies, which he intended speedily to lay before the house. Conformable to this notice, he moved to bring in, "first—A bill for removing all doubts and apprehensions concerning taxation by Parliament, in the colonies of North America.

"Second—A bill to enable his Majesty to appoint commissioners to treat upon the means of quieting the disorders subsisting in certain of the American colonies."

The first contained a declaration that Parliament would impose no tax or duty whatever, payable within any of the colonies of North America, except only such duties as it may be expedient to impose for the purposes of commerce, the net produce of which should always be paid and applied to, and for the use of the colonies in which the same shall be respectively levied, in like manner as other duties collected under the authority of their respective legislatures are paid and applied.

The second authorized the appointment of commissioners, with power to treat either with the constituted authorities, or with individuals in America; provided that no stipulations entered into should have any effect until approved in Parliament.

It then enacted, that the commissioners should have power to proclaim a cessation of hostilities in all or any of the colonies, suspend the non-intercourse law, and so much of all or any of the acts, passed since the tenth of February, 1763, as related to the colonies.

"To grant pardons to any number or descriptions of persons, and to appoint governors in those colonies in which his Majesty had formerly appointed them."

The latter act was limited to the first day of June, 1779. These bills passed both houses of Parliament.

As intelligence was received by the minister, about the time of their being introduced, that a treaty had been concluded between the United States and France, copies of these bills, after their first reading, and before they had gone through the requisite forms, were hurried to America, to be laid before Congress and the public, in the hope that they might counteract the effects which the treaty might produce.

Washington, immediately on the arrival of the bills, transmitted them to Congress, to the end, that they might take them up and act on them.

In the mean time. General Tryon, the British governor of New-York, wrote to Washington, enclosing him a copy of the bills, and recommending to him, that through him they might be made known to the army under his command.

Congress referred the bills to Messrs. Morris, Dana and Dayton, three of their body, who reported that the said bills were intended to operate on the hopes and fears of the people of the United States, so as to create divisions among them, and a defection from the common cause, now drawing towards a favourable issue: And that any men, or body of men, who should presume to make any separate convention with the commissioners of Great Britain, ought to be considered as enemies of the United States.

The committee further reported, that these United States could not with propriety hold any conference or treaty with the commissioners of Great Britain, unless they should either withdraw their armies and fleets, or else acknowledge the independence of these states.

The committee concluded, by recommending to Congress to call on the several states to use their utmost exertions in bringing their respective quotas of troops into the field; and that all the militia of the several states ought to hold themselves in readiness to act when called on.

The foregoing report and the concurring resolutions of Congress were published. The next day Congress passed resolutions, recommending to the different states to pardon those of their countrymen who had taken up arms against the United States.

During these transactions the French frigate La Sensible arrived with intelligence, that treaties of alliance and commerce had been formed between France and the United States. The joy which this event diffused throughout the country was unbounded.

France, the rival of Great Britain, had viewed with satisfaction the revolt of the United States and their success. She wished that the latter might be despoiled of her American possessions, as she had been. Still France did not wish to enter into a war with Great Britain.

Very early in the contest the attention of the American government had been directed to foreign powers, and particularly to France. The want of arms, ammunition, and clothing, had induced, in 1775, the appointment of agents to procure them abroad.

Soon afterwards, Mr. Silas Deane was deputed to France, with instructions to sound the cabinet, and to procure military supplies. Mr. Deane obtained a sufficient quantity to load three vessels, but owing to the influence of the British minister at the court of Versailles, he was prevented from forwarding them to America.

The declaration of independence in America, however, had

a favourable effect in France. Supplies for carrying on the war were privately furnished. The French court, as it foresaw that an acknowledgment of American independence would occasion a rupture with Great Britain, declined entering into a treaty. In the mean time, the American ships were permitted to enter the French ports, and every facility was given to obtain munitions of war. Mr. Deane was told, that an acknowledgment of our independence, unaccompanied with war, would be of no service, and that if France should be compelled to make war on Great Britain, it would be much more honourable to make it on some other account, and if made at all, it was the same thing to the United States.

Thus France declined taking any part in the quarrel, but gave assurances that the indulgencies heretofore allowed would be continued. The Americans continued to ship military stores. The British minister remonstrated. The court of France forbid the vessels sailing, although it afterwards privately permitted them to sail. Orders were issued, that American prizes should not be sold in the ports of France, and afterwards the orders were countermanded, or not carried into effect.

The treaty concluded with France was very advantageous to the United States. It was a treaty of alliance, eventual and defensive, between the two nations, in which it was declared, that if war should break out between France and Great Britain during the existence of that with the United States, it should be made a common cause, and that neither of the contracting parties should conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain, without the consent of the other.

In a few weeks after the treaty was consummated, the Marquis de Noailles announced it to the court of St. James. The British government considered this notification as a declaration of war, and forthwith published a memorial, justifying hostilities against France.

The Congress, on receiving the dispatches containing the treaties, convened and ratified them by a unanimous vote.—Congress passed a resolution, expressive of their high consideration of his most Christian Majesty's magnanimity.

From events which were the sources of unbounded exultation in the United States, it is necessary to direct the attention of the reader to the condition of the prisoners.

In modern times custom and usage have introduced laws, in relation to carrying on war and treating prisoners, which were unknown to the ancients. In wars, therefore, between independent states, the laws do not sanction the laying waste of a country, the murder and captivity of its inhabitants, or the taking of private property without pay. Nor do they sanction bad treatment to such as are taken prisoners in the service of the state. In wars between nations possessing independence and acknowledged rights, a departure from established custom and usage, seldom occurs; but in wars between the members of different parts of the same state, the customs and usages of war are often departed from. Those in favour of government, or the ancient order of things, consider resistance as rebellion, and look on the prisoners as traitors, whose lives are forfeited. In the contest between the United States and Great Britain, which was a contest of right on the part of America, the people of America never admitted that the British government was justified in departing from the common usages of war. They expected that those whom chance might throw in the power of the enemy, would be treated in every respect according to modern usage. In this respect their expectations were not realized. Perhaps the treatment of some of the loyalists by the Americans may have led to a severity on the part of the enemy, which would not have been exercised under different circumstances. Neither General Howe nor Lord Howe appear, from their general conduct or sentiments, to have possessed that ferocity of temper, or that furious and bigotted zeal, which could induce them to increase wantonly the miseries of the wretched, or to dispense, in the case of American prisoners, with an observance of the rights of humanity, yet there were facts which authorize a belief, that some of the subordinate officers under them did bury the milder feelings which belong to man, in order to increase the miseries of the unfortunate persons who were in their power.

The misfortunes of the American prisoners was heightened by a disagreement between the commanders, in relation to the exchange.

Their sufferings increased, with the increasing severity of the season. And to add still more to it, their country had not furnished them with clothing and blankets, and they were by no means supplied with wood. They suffered equally from famine. Repeated remonstrances were made to the British general on this subject, but he denied the fact. At length, however, a partial exchange of prisoners was agreed upon, but by far the greater number was detained, in consequence of an impolitic resolution of Congress, which Washington, with much difficulty, got repealed.

About the middle of March, General Howe detached Colonel Mawhood, from Philadelphia, into New-Jersey, with twelve hundred men. These landed at Salem, near Reedy Island, and dispersed the militia under Colonels Hand and Holme. The enemy, in this expedition, committed great depredations.

Not long after the incursion into New-Jersey, General Howe planed an expedition against General Lacy, who guarded the roads leading to Philadelphia, on the north side of the Schuylkill. This expedition he entrusted to Colonel Abercrombie, who, surprised that general and his militia, and entirely dispersed them. The enemy soon after destroyed several vessels at Bordentown in New-Jersey, together with the stores collected at that place.

In May Washington sent the Marquis de La Fayette, from Valley Forge, with upwards of two thouand men, to annoy the rear of the British army, should they evacuate Philadelphia. La Fayette marched to Barren Hill, about nine miles distant, where he took post. General Howe, on being apprised of this movement, detached General Grant with five thousand men to surprise and cut him off. That general proceeded by night, with the utmost secrecy, on the road leading up the Delaware for a short distance; when leaving it, he advanced upon the rear of the Marquis, which placed him in a perilous condition. The

latter, however, on obtaining intelligence of this, retired immediately to Matson's Ford, on the Schuylkill, and repassed that river, and encamped on the high grounds. Grant, finding himself foiled, fell back upon Philadelphia.

About this time General Howe was succeeded in the command by Sir Henry Clinton, who made dispositions for the evacuation of Philadelphia. The preparations for this movement were soon made known to Washington, who called in without delay all his detachments, and placed his army in a situation to march at any moment. As soon as it was ascertained that Sir Henry Clinton intended to reach New-York, by passing through New-Jersey, Washington ordered General Maxwell, with the New-Jersey brigade, to cross the river Delaware, and join Major-general Dickenson, who was assembling the militia of the latter state.

On the eighteenth of June the British troops left Philadelphia, passed the Delaware, and encamped at Gloucester Point in New-Jersey. On being informed of this, Washington decamped from Valley Forge, and proceeded by forced marches to the Delaware, which he crossed on the twenty-second of the same month, and encamped at Hopewell. While at the latter place, Colonel Morgan was commanded to go with his riflemen and assault the right flank of the British army.

Sir Henry Clinton was now encamped at Allentown. Hopewell, where the main body of the American army was, is about five miles from Princeton. The Generals Maxwell and Dickenson, with their troops, hung on the left flank of the enemy, while General Cadwallader, with one thousand men, lagged on their rear. On the twenty-fourth of June, Washington marched from Hopewell, in order to give battle to the British. The Generals Scott and Wayne were already sent on, with strong detachments, to strengthen those who were on the lines. On the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth, dispositions were made for a grand battle. The continentals, now in front of the main army, were four thousand men, and were under the Marquis La Fayette. Washington directed the Marquis to form a junction with the Generals Scott and Dickenson, and then attack the van of the ene-

my's army, while on the march. On the twenty-seventh, General Lee was detached with two brigades to reinforce the Marquis, and assume the command. The main army also moved forward at the same time.

Sir Henry Clinton, anticipating the designs of Washington, encamped on the high grounds about Monmouth court-house, his right wing being protected by a small wood and a marsh extending in the direction of his rear, and his left by woods. His front was covered by a wood and a morass, which rendered his position very strong. The object of Washington was to attack his rear the moment he should move forward with his army. General Lee was commanded to be in readiness to attack the rear of the enemy, whenever he should quit his present position. The same commands were sent to the generals who hovered on the rear. Such were the dispositions. On the twenty-eighth of June, about five in the morning, Washington received intelligence that the front of the enemy's army was in motion. The American troops were immediately put under arms, and orders were sent to General Lee to move on and commence the attack.

Sir Henry Clinton, perceiving that the whole American army was near by, placed his baggage under the care of General Knyphausen, whom he sent on, while he, with the main army, unincumbered, was to follow him. About eight in the morning the main army descended from the high grounds into the plain, where it took up its line of march in rear of the advance.

General Lee appeared on the heights of Freehold soon after the enemy had left them, and pursuing them into the plain, directed General Wayne to assault their covering in the rear, so as to halt them. Meanwhile he proposed to gain their front by a nearer road on their left, and entirely intercepting their communication with the line, bear them off before they could be assisted. Before he arrived at the point of destination, contradictory information was brought to him concerning the number of the enemy, which perplexed him considerably, and put him in doubt how to act. The country being mostly covered with woods, prevented him from seeing the enemy, in order to

form an opinion which might enable him how to conduct himself. Thus circumstanced, he deemed it most advisable to reconnoitre them in person, to the end, that he might come to a conclusion.

Sir Henry Clinton, shortly after the rear division was in full march, obtained intelligence that a party of Americans was on his left flank. This induced him to halt, for the purpose of supporting the left flank and driving the Americans back. This being effected, he resumed his march, when his rear-guard was attacked by a strong corps. Believing that Washington had formed a design of seizing his baggage, he determined, in order to secure it from the danger that threatened it, to attack the corps in his rear with all his disposable force, so vigorously as to compel the commander of the Americans to call off those on his flanks. To effect this, he made a retrograde movement, while General Lee was reconnoitreing in order to ascertain his numbers. This was about ten o'clock. While both were preparing for action, General Scott, who commanded under Lee, mistook an oblique movement of one of the American columns for a retreat, and in the apprehension of being abandoned, he fell back. Lee did not correct this error made by Scott, but ordered the whole corps, amounting to five thousand men, to retrograde, and gain possession of the heights which they had just passed. The enemy pressed forward upon Lee, and began a brisk fire, which was reciprocated without much effect.

When the first firing announced the commencement of the action, the main army, under Washington, advanced with celerity to support the corps under General Lee. As it approached the scene of action, it met the corps of Lee in full retreat. Washington, being greatly astonished at this, rode to the rear of the corps, where he found General Lee, and disapprobated his conduct. He gave instant orders to the colonels Stewart and Ramsay to form their regiments, and check the enemy, who were then in full pursuit. He also ordered Lee to make dispositions with the residue of his corps, and stop the British on that very ground. These orders were executed, and a sharp conflict ensued, which terminated somewhat in favour

of the enemy. While this matter was going on, Washington put the main army in order of battle. Lord Sterling commanded the left wing, and General Greene the right, the centre of the army being under the General in-chief, in person. In this manner the army moved forward and attacked the enemy's advancing columns, and compelled them to fall back. Sir Henry Clinton, on seeing this, formed his army on strong ground, his flanks being secured by close woods and deep marshes. The fugitives were rallied and re-formed, and dispositions were made for a general engagement. Washington, notwithstanding the bad conduct of General Lee, and the present strong position of the enemy, resolved, if possible, to dislodge them, and compel them to a general battle. For this purpose he ordered General Poor to gain and turn their right flank, and General Woodford to turn their left flank; but before these orders could be carried into effect, night came on, and he was obliged to defer the action until the next morning. Poor and Woodford continued with their brigades on the ground through the night, while the main army lay upon their arms, to be in readiness to act as circumstances might require.

In the mean time, Sir Henry Clinton, after having caused his wounded to be removed, drew off the British army with such silence, that it was not known to Washington before dawn of day. As it was manifest that the enemy would gain the high grounds about Middletown, before the American army could overtake them; and as it was manifest that they could not be attacked to advantage on those grounds; and as the battle already fought, had resulted in such a manner, as to make a favourable impression to the American arms, it was deemed inexpedient to continue the pursuit. Washington having left the New-Jersey brigade, Morgan's corps, and some light troops, to watch the motions of the enemy, cut off their foraging parties, and protect the country, moved the main body of his army to the Hudson, and took a position which effectually covered the passes of the Highlands or Matteawan mountains.

Both parties claimed the victory at Monmouth. The advantage, however, was decidedly with the Americans. The facts

seem to be these:—in the early part of the day, the British prevailed, in consequence of the bad conduct of General Lee, who fell back without any apparent cause, but in the after part, the Americans rallied, and repulsed the royal army, and were only prevented by the night coming on, from reaping a complete victory. The commander of the British army was too sensible of this to wait till day, and then hazard an action. The loss of the enemy, in their retreat from Philadelphia to New York, was nearly two thousand men, one thousand of whom were deserters.

The conduct of General Lee was universally condemned. He was arrested, tried, and suspended from his command for one year, in consequence thereof.

Congress was so highly gratified with the success which attended the American arms at Monmouth, that they passed a resolution of thanks to the commander-in-chief and his army.

Before Washington reached the ground, that he designed to occupy in the vicinity of the Highlands, the Count D'Estaing, with a powerful French fleet, appeared off the northern extremity of the coast of Virginia. He had sailed from Toulon in France, on the thirteenth of April, with twelve ships of the line and six frigates, having on board a considerable body of land forces. On reaching the Capes of Delaware Bay, he announced his arrival to Congress. Learning that the enemy had quitted Delaware Bay with their fleet, he proceeded along the coast to Sandy Hook, in order to attack the British fleet. Here he continued eleven days, and then put out to sea, and sailed to Newport in Rhode Island. This was in pursuance of a plan entered into with Washington, to attack the British troops in that state.

Sir Henry Clinton, soon after his arrival at New York, being apprehensive for the safety of the troops at Newport, sent reinforcements to General Pigot, who commanded at that place, which increased the army under that general, to six thousand men.

General Sullivan, who was over the American forces in Rhode Island, had now directions to call on the New England

states, to furnish their quotas of militia, in order to enable him, in conjunction with the Count D'Estaing, to attempt the expulsion of the enemy from that state. Washington, in the mean time, detached the Marquis de La Fayette, with two brigades to join Sullivan.

At this time, the main body of the enemy lay in Newport, a town situated on the west of the isthmus, which connects the southern with the northern, and principal part of the island, and which was defended by a chain of redoubts, stretching almost across the island from east to west, and by batteries facing the water. Some other works, occupied by small detachments, had been constructed at the north end of the island, to prevent a descent from the continent; and three regiments on Connanicut Island, lying a little westwardly of Newport. The Americans under Sullivan, lay on the main about Providence.

There are three entrances to Rhode Island. One to the east called Seaconnet; another on the west of the island, between it and Connanicut, called the main channel; and a third on the west of Connanicut, called the west or Narragansett passage. Each of these passages was guarded by several frigates and galleys, which the enemy destroyed, to prevent their falling into the hands of the French, who stationed some ships of war, both in the Seaconnet and Narragansett passages, while their fleet blocked up the main channel, by anchoring at its mouth. General Sullivan went on board the admiral's ship, soon after the arrival of the fleet, where a plan of operations was concerted, between him and the Count D'Estaing.

General Pigot immediately after this, drew off the troops from Connanicut Island, and concentrated all his forces about Newport.

According to the plan of attack concerted between Sullivan and D'Estaing, the French fleet was to enter the harbour, and land the troops of his Christian Majesty, on the west side of the island. The Americans were to land at the same time on the opposite coast. To be in readiness for the execution of this plan, General Greene marched on the sixth of August, a

detachment of continental and state troops, with some militia to Tiverton, which lies on the east side of the east channel.

Meanwhile the aids from New-York, under the Marquis de La Fayette, arrived. As the militia of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, who were principally volunteers, approached, General Sullivan joined General Greene; and it was agreed that the fleet should enter the main channel immediately, and that the descent should be made the following day.

In execution of this plan, the ships of war entered the channel and passed into the harbour. The militia not arriving at the time expected, General Sullivan desired the Count D'Estaing to postpone the attack another day. The enemy recalled his troops by night from the north end of the island into his lines at Newport. On discovering this in the morning, Sullivan crossed the east passage, and landed on the north end of the island.

About this time a British fleet appeared, which after sailing close into the land, and communicating with General Pigot, withdrew some distance, and came to anchor off Point Judith.

The next morning the Count D'Estaing put out to sea, in order to give battle to the British fleet. Lord Howe, who commanded it, on seeing this, weighed anchor and also put out to sea. He was followed by the French fleet, and both were soon out of sight.

The departure of the French fleet considerably disconcerted the plan of operations. General Sullivan, however, being reinforced with the militia, resolved, on the fifteenth of August, to commence the siege of Newport; and for this purpose marched within three miles of the town and encamped. The succeeding morning the siege was commenced, and continued for some days. The two fleets, soon after they had gone out to sea, were dispersed by a violent storm, in which they sustained great damages.

The fleet of the French, upon this disaster, returned to Newport, from whence it sailed for Boston, declining a co-operation with the Americans. The injuries sustained from the storm,

and the information received, that Admiral Byron had arrived on the American coast with a fleet, induced the Count to take this course.

No hope remaining of carrying on the siege with success, General Sullivan came to the determination of abandoning it, and withdrawing to the north end of the island.

In the night of the twenty-eighth of August, General Sullivan decamped in great silence, and took post at the north end of the island, pursuant to the foregoing resolution. The enemy the next morning followed him, and attacked the rear, under the Colonels Livingston and Laurens, but without much effect. The Americans made a stand at their camp. The British formed in order of battle on Quaker Hill, something more than a mile distant. In this position the two armies cannonaded each other for some time, and several skirmishes were fought in the intermediate space, between small parties. About two o'clock the enemy in force attempted to turn the right flank, and made dispositions of an intention to dislodge the right wing under General Greene.

Four regiments were moved forward to meet them, but these not being strong enough to check them, General Greene advanced, with two other regiments and a brigade of militia, to their support, when the action for a short time was very warm. Colonel Livingston's regiment being ordered up to reinforce Greene, the enemy were compelled to retire. The cannonade was then renewed and kept up till night. In this action the Americans displayed great firmness and bravery. The loss on the side of the Americans was two hundred and eleven men, and that on the side of the enemy two hundred and sixty, according to the account of their general.

Shortly afterwards, General Sullivan, on learning that Sir Henry Clinton was on his way to join General Pigot, with four thousand men, brought off his army to the continent, where he took a position.

Sir Henry Clinton, finding that General Sullivan had retired to the main, and that there was no prospect of attacking him with success, returned with his fleet of transports towards New-

York, as far as New London in Connecticut. Against this place he had contemplated an expedition, but finding the winds unfavourable to his entering the river Thames, on which the town stands, he left the fleet and proceeded to New-York, leaving the troops on board the transports with General Gray, whom he directed to take the town and other places, as far eastward as Buzzard's Bay.

Gray, after his departure, entered the Thames and destroyed several privateers and merchantmen. The towns of Bedford and Fairhaven, in which were military stores, were mostly reduced to ashes. The troops re-embarked the next day, before the militia could be assembled in sufficient force to oppose them, and sailed to Martha's Vineyard, where they destroyed a number of vessels and some salt works, and levied on the inhabitants a heavy contribution. While so large a detachment of the British force was committing depredations on the coasts of New England, there were in the city of New-York indications of an intention to carry on some distant expedition. In order to be in readiness to oppose a combined attack by sea and land on the French fleet, without exposing the passes on the Hudson to the enemy, General Gates was directed, with three brigades, to proceed to Danbury in Connecticut, and there await further orders. The camp at White Plains, in the county of Westchester, was about the same time broken up, and the main army under Washington took a position at Fredericksburgh, which is further north. General Putnam was detached with two brigades to the vicinity of West Point.

Soon afterwards the troops under General Gray returned, and also the squadron under Lord Howe, which removed all apprehensions respecting the French fleet.

The British army, on the twenty-seventh of September, moved up from the city of New-York on each side of the Hudson in considerable force. The troops on the west, under Lord Cornwallis, consisting of five thousand men, took a position with its right on the Hudson, extending to Newbridge on the Hackensack; while those on the east side of the river, under General Knyphausen, amounting to three thousand, advanced about the

same distance and extended themselves from that river to the Bronx. The possession of the Hudson enabled the troops under these generals to re-unite, in case it should be necessary.

Colonel Baylor, on the morning of that day, had marched from Paramus in New-Jersey to Herringtown in Rockland, with his regiment of cavalry, where he encamped. Immediate notice of this was given to Cornwallis, who formed the design of cutting him off. To this end he detached General Gray, who being conducted by some of the inhabitants, surprised the regiment, and put most of the men to death, although no resistance was offered, and quarters were asked.

The cruelty used by the enemy on this occasion, excited no slight degree of horror and indignation. Soon after this, Count Pulaski, on his way from Trenton in New-Jersey to Little Egg Harbour, was surprised, and forty of his infantry bayoneted, without allowing quarter. The Count, however, opportunely escaped with his cavalry.

As soon as Admiral Byron, who reached New-York and took command of the British fleet, about the middle of September, had made the repairs to his shattered squadron, which were necessary to enable him again to put to sea, he sailed for the port of Boston, for the purpose of blocking up the Count D'Estaing, and of availing himself of the first opportunity which might favour an attack on the French fleet. He had been but a short time, however, in the bay, before a furious storm came on and drove him out to sea, and damaged his ships so much, that he was obliged to put into Newport in Rhode Island in order to refit. This favourable moment was seized by Count D'Estaing, and he set sail on the third day of November for the West Indies.

Thus terminated, without any material advantage, an expedition concerning the success of which sanguine hopes had not, without reason, been entertained. A variety of accidents had defeated plans judiciously formed, having every probability of success in their favour. The original object of the armament, to the attainment of which it was entirely competent, was the British fleet in the Delaware and the army in Philadelphia.

But a passage from Toulon, of most extraordinary length, on which it was impossible to have calculated, detained it at sea, until the enemy's fleet and army had withdrawn. By a very few days too, the opportunity of finding Lord Howe without the bar at Sandy Hook, and of obstructing the passage of Sir Henry Clinton from the continent to the Hook, was lost. Nor was the departure of D'Estaing from Sandy Hook, less unpropitious; for within eight days after his leaving that station, four ships of the line, belonging to the enemy, came in singly, and which, in all probability, had they reached their destination sooner, would have fallen into his hands. This reinforcement was the more essential, as without it Lord Howe could not have ventured to molest the operations against Rhode Island.

The storm which parted the fleets, in the moment when an engagement was beginning, with the advantage of the wind, and a superiority of force on the side of the French, which dismasted and unfitted for service the admiral's ship, and some others, was an untoward event, and effectually defeated the enterprise against Rhode Island. So much are the best laid plans dependant on accident.

As there was very little prospect of an active winter campaign, in the northern or middle states, Sir Henry Clinton sent General Grant to the West India Islands, with five thousand men. Not long after, a detachment under Colonel Campbell, escorted by Commodore Parker, was sent to the southern states.

The main American army, in December, retired into winter-quarters, on both sides of the Hudson, about West Point, and at Middlebrook in New-Jersey, while the light troops were stationed near the lines. The cavalry were ordered into the interior to recruit.

The troops again wintered in huts, and though not well clothed, their condition in that respect was much meliorated by supplies from France.

About the time that Commodore Parker sailed for the southern states, the commissioners appointed to give effect to the late conciliation acts of Parliament, embarked for Europe. They had exerted their utmost powers to effect the objects of

their mission without success. The terms offered by them were such as, at one time, America would cheerfully have accepted; but they required a union of the force of the two nations, under one common sovereign. These, however, were terms to which America was no longer disposed, or at liberty to accede to. All those affections, which parts of the same empire ought to feel for each other, had been eradicated by war; the great body of the American people was now determined, at every sacrifice, to maintain their independence; and the alliance with France had bound them by principles of honour and national faith, never to consent to a re-union with the British empire.

The commissioners arrived prior to the evacuation of Philadelphia by Sir Henry Clinton. They were instructed, among other things, to make the following propositions:—

"To consent to a cessation of hostilities, both by sea and land.

"To restore free intercourse, to revive mutual affection, and renew the common benefits of naturalization, through the several parts of the empire.

"To extend every freedom to trade, that the respective interests of Britain and America could require.

"To agree that no military forces should be kept up in North America, without the consent of the general Congress or particular assemblies.

"To concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation.

"To perpetuate the union, by a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents, who shall have the privilege of a seat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain, or if sent from Britain, to have a seat and voice in the assemblies of the different colonies to which they may be deputed respectively, in order to attend the several interests of those by whom they may be deputed.

"In short, to establish the power of the respective legislatures in each particular colony, to settle its revenue in civil and military establishments, and to exercise a perfect freedom in

legislation and internal government, so that the British colonies throughout North America, acting with Great Britain in peace and war, under one common sovereign, may have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege short of a total separation of interests, or consistent with the union of force, on which the safety of their common religion and liberty depends."

Such were the propositions made, but the time for a compliance on the part of America had passed. The enemy had brought on the people such great and manifold calamities, that nothing short of an absolute acknowledgment of independence could be acquiesced in.

In the month of July, while the commissioners were endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation between Great Britain and America, the Sieur Girard arrived at Philadelphia, in the character of minister plenipotentiary of his most Christian Majesty. The joy produced by this event was unbounded. On notice of his being in the Delaware, Congress appointed a committee to wait on him in order to congratulate him. He was soon afterwards admitted to an audience.

The reception of a minister from the most powerful nation in Europe, being among the first and most important events of independence, was alike new and gratifying to the people of the United States.

While these things were going on, the war raged on the western frontiers in its most savage form. Considerable solicitude had been felt by Congress to engage the Indians on the frontiers, either to take part with the Americans in the war or to observe a neutrality. In the first stages of the war, many of them evinced a disposition not unfriendly to the United States, but the inability of the government to furnish them with such articles as they had been in the habit of receiving gratuitously, compared with the presents they obtained from Montreal, and the posts held by the enemy on the lakes, soon decided them to take part with Britain. Early in 1778, there were many indications of an inclination on their part to make war on the United States and the frontiers, from the Mohawk to the Ohio, were menaced with the tommahawk and scalping knife. Every re-

presentation from the country concurred in the opinion, that a war with the Indians ought to be carried into their country, in order to humble them, and coerce them into a peace. The hostilities already manifested, were in a measure occasioned by Colonel Hamilton, the governor of Detroit, and some other persons in the employ of the British government. Against Detroit, therefore, an expedition was resolved on by Congress. General M'Intosh, who commanded at Pittsburgh, was directed to prepare for carrying on the expedition, with three thousand men. To accelerate the success of this enterprise, and the sooner to reduce the hostile tribes to submission, another was resolved on against the Senecas. The officer commanding on the east side of the Hudson, was instructed to take measures to carry this resolution into effect.

Unfortunately these resolutions could not be carried into execution, partly on account of a want of means, and partly on account of the states not co-operating. Hence the frontiers remained exposed until the storm burst upon them.

The scene of greatest misery and devastation was Wyoming, in the state of Pennsylvania. This is a district of country lying on both sides of the Susquehannah, and was settled by emigrants from Connecticut. The district contained about eleven hundred families, and had furnished nearly one thousand men for the continental army, besides garrisons for the forts which the people had erected for their security. Unfortunately they had not been exempted from political divisions, which, when carried to excess, destroy those affections which attach members of the same family to each other, and plant the most deadly hate.

While the great body of the settlement joined their countrymen in the existing contest, some few adhered to the royal cause. Encouraged by their distance from the military force of the nation, and stimulated by their neighbours in Canada, they did not conceal the motives they had in view, and having experienced severity, many of them were induced to take refuge among the Indians, or at the posts occupied by the British. Their numbers gradually increased, and with these their resentment. At their head was Colonel John Butler, the cousin of

Colonel Zebulon Butler, who was commander of the militia of Wyoming.

The commencement of the year had furnished indications of hostile designs, on the part of the Indians; but as the time drew near, when the blow, they meditated, was to be given, the artful policy of lulling those into security against whom it was directed, was resorted to. Several messengers came in from the hostile tribes, charged with assurances of their peaceful dispositions, and Colonel John Butler declared, in an assemblage of savages, that he was about to withdraw to Detroit. Their designs, however, were suspected, and the inhabitants, for their own safety, took refuge in their forts.

On the first of July, a body, supposed to be nearly one thousand six hundred strong, composed of Indians and tories, who were painted like savages, under the command of Colonel John Butler, burst into the district of Wyoming, and obtained possession of one of the two upper forts without opposition. The other was taken. The two principal forts, Kingston and Wilksbarre, were near each other, on opposite sides of the Susqehannah. Colonel Zebulon Butler, with the greatest part of the armed men of the district, and a number of women and children, took refuge in Kingston. After rejecting a summons to surrender, he proposed a parley, and a place at some distance from the fort was agreed upon for a meeting of the chiefs. He marched out with four hundred men to the place appointed, where no person was found on the part of the enemy; but at a still greater distance from the fort, at the foot of the mountain, a flag was exhibited, which retired, as he approached, as if apprehensive of danger from the Americans.

Colonel Zebulon Butler continued to advance until he found himself almost surrounded by the enemy, who rose and fired on him. His troops, in this emergency, displayed great firmness and bravery, and would, in all likelihood, have beaten them back, and made good their retreat to the fort, had not one of the men exclaimed, in a loud voice, "The colonel has ordered a retreat." Instant confusion ensued, and the militia fled towards the river, which they endeavoured to cross, in order to gain

the fort called Wilksbarre. The enemy pursued with the rage of demons, and of the four hundred that had marched out on this party, only about twenty escaped. Fort Kingston was invested, and to increase the terror of the garrison, and impress on them ideas of their horrible situation, the bleeding scalps of their murdered countrymen were sent in for their inspection.

Colonel Zebulon Butler, having withdrawn himself and his family down the river, Colonel Dennison, the commanding officer went out with a flag, to enquire of the commander of the enemy what terms would be allowed on their surrendering the fort—uniting to Spartan brevity, more than Cannibal ferocity, this tutored savage answered in two words—"*the hatchet.*"

Having lost great part of the garrison, and being unable to hold out longer, Colonel Dennison surrendered at discretion. The threat of Colonel John Butler was executed. After selecting a few prisoners, the great body of the people in the fort were inclosed in the houses, when fire was applied to them and they were consumed together.

Colonel John Butler then passed over the river to Wilksbarre, which surrendered immediately. The continental soldiers, amounting to seventy, were hacked to pieces. The remainder, consisting of the inhabitants, shared the same fate that their brethren had at Kingston.

All show of resistance was now termined, but the ruin contemplated was not yet complete. Near three thousand persons had escaped. Flying without money, clothes or food, they sought for safety in the interior of the country. To prevent their returning, every thing remaining behind was destroyed. Fire and the tommahawk were alternately applied; and all the houses and improvements, which the labour of years had made, as well as every living animal which could be found, were destroyed. The houses and settlements of the tories alone were preserved.

The devastators of Wyoming withdrew before the arrival of the continental troops detached against them, could reach the place.

To cover and protect the whole frontier of the United States

was impossible. Particular districts were therefore exposed to all the calamities incidental to savage warfare. Worn out by daily calls into the field, the militia every where solicited to be relieved and protected by the continental troops. Their applications were often necessarily resisted, and the continentals distributed in such manner as would best promote the great object of the contest. The sufferings of the frontiers, however, were now such, and the danger which menaced them was so imminent, that it became necessary to spare for their defence a more considerable portion of the army, than had been allotted to that part of the union, since the capture of Burgoyne. Colonel Hartley's regiment, and two companies of militia, were ordered, on the first intelligence of the destruction of Wyoming, to repair thither. The colonel set out on an expedition against the Indian towns, some of which he destroyed, and made some prisoners; but hearing that they were collecting in considerable force, he thought it advisable to retreat. His rear was attacked, but the assailants were repulsed.

The fourth Pennsylvania regiment, raised in the western frontier of that state, under the command of William Butler, a partisan of great merit, and the remnant of Morgan's rifle corps, led by Major Posey, were also detached to the assistance of the people of Schoharie. With his continentals and thirty rangers, Colonel Butler, in October, entered the enemy's country, and after a march, attended with infinite labour and difficulty in crossing mountains and rivers, reached their towns at Oquago on the Susquehannah. These he destroyed, together with the corn and other things laid up for winter. Colonel Butler returned from Oquago by the Unadilla, and laid waste all the Indian towns on that river. Oquago is in the county of Broome, and was the head-quarters of the celebrated Brandt, an Indian, distinguished for courage. In this expedition Colonel Butler had the good fortune not to fall in with any party of the enemy. The loss of their towns and provisions compelled the enemy to withdraw to a greater distance from the frontiers, which rendered their future inroads more difficult.

Pending these transactions, Colonel Hartley informed Congress that the enemy were fortifying a place at Chemung, a few miles from the mouth of the Cayuta, a stream falling into the Susquehannah, at which place a considerable number of tories were collected. Chemung and Niagara were represented to be the principal places of resort for those tories who could not reach the city of New-York. A resolution was passed, directing that measures should be taken for capturing Chemung, and for repressing the incursions of the savages on the frontiers of New-York, New-Jersey and Pennsylvania.

The season of the year, however, had come on when the rains swell the streams so as to render them impassible; in addition to which it was impossible to transport artillery unless roads should be opened, without which any attempt on the fortifications would have been unsuccessful. A council of general officers was therefore convened at Albany, consisting of Generals Schuyler, Hand and Clinton, who, after taking all things into consideration, came to the conclusion that the enterprise against Chemung ought to be deferred until the ensuing season.

Before the expedition against Chemung was entirely relinquished, a body of five hundred men, consisting of tories, Indians and regulars, under Colonel Brandt, broke into Cherry Valley, where Colonel Alden was posted with a continental regiment. The colonel, quartering with a family, about half a mile from the fort, was surprised and killed with ten or twelve soldiers and officers whom he had with him. The fort was then assaulted; but a resolute defence being made, the enemy desisted; after which they laid the whole settlement waste, and murdered thirty-two of the inhabitans, mostly women and children. The cruelties committed by some of the royalists and Indians make humanity shudder. Not content with killing the inhabitants, they ripped open and quartered the women, and then suspended their mangled limbs on the branches of trees. The helpless infants they took from the breasts of ther mothers and dashed their brains out against posts. Having completed the destruction of Cherry Valley they retired.

While the frontiers of New-York and Pennsylvania were suffering all the miseries of savage warfare, a fate equally calamitous seems to have been destined against the back settlements of Virginia. The militia of those settlements had made some successful incursions into the country northwest of the River Ohio, and had captured some British posts on the Mississippi. These were erected into a county called Illinois, and a regiment of infantry, with a troop of cavalry, under Colonel Clark, were raised for its protection. These were divided into several parties, the principal of which remained with Colonel Clark, at the village of Kaskaskias. Colonel Hamilton, the governor of Detroit, was at Fort St. Vincent on the Wabash, with about six hundred men, mostly Indians, projecting an expedition, first against Kaskaskias, and then against Pittsburgh, at the head of the Ohio; after which he proposed to desolate the frontiers of Virginia. But Colonel Clark, anticipating his designs, resolved to attack the post of St. Vincent. He was induced to accelerate his enterprise, in consequence of information he obtained that most of the Indians had been sent out by Colonel Hamilton, to block the Ohio and harass the border settlers. In the month of February he detached a galley, mounting two four-pounders, and four swivels, manned with a company of soldiers, and having on board stores for his troops, which were to go by land, with orders to descend the Mississippi to the mouth of the Ohio, and ascend thence to the vicinity of St. Vincent, and there take a station, and await his arrival. Having arranged this part of his plan, he set out from Kaskaskias, with one hundred and thirty men, and after a march of sixteen days, through woods and morasses, he appeared before St. Vincent, which was garrisoned by eighty regulars, and began the siege. Hamilton finding it impossible to defend the place, surrendered himself and his garrison.

This expedition, so happily carried into effect, was of great importance to the frontier inhabitants of Virginia. It entirely disconcerted the plans concerted by the enemy, for carrying on the ensuing campaign in that quarter. Several tribes of Indians made peace with the United States, while others were intimidated in no small degree.

After the war had broken out between France and Great Britain, in the Autumn of 1778, Congress renewed the plan for the invasion and conquest of Canada. This plan, had it been carried into effect, was to have been executed by the combined forces of France and America, both by sea and land. Congress in preparing this plan, did not consult a single commander, but preparation and execution are different things. Cabinets may easily prepare plans of operations, which cannot be carried into effect. The disasters which had attended the Americans in their first attempt to reduce that country, ought to have been sufficient admonitions to Congress not to make a second essay.

It was resolved to march, as early as the first of June, two separate detachments of troops, consisting each of fifteen hundred infantry, and one thousand cavalry from Wyoming and Pittsburgh, to Niagara and Detroit. These corps were to destroy the towns belonging to the hostile Indian tribes, lying in their route. The troops, marching from Wyoming against Fort Niagara, were to be met at Oquago or its vicinity, by fifteen hundred men, who were to be collected at the city of Schenectady. A body of troops were to be stationed higher up the Mohawk, during the winter, for the purpose of procuring materials for building boats. There they were to be reinforced in the spring, by two thousand five hundred men, and were to take possession of Oswego, and make excursions by water towards Niagara. Several regiments were to be cantoned on the upper parts of Connecticut river, so as to form a body of five thousand men, from whence they were to march to St. John's and Montreal, &c. Such were a part of the paper plans of Congress.

See Ramsey's History of the Revolutionary War, Marshall's Life of Washington, &c., also my second volume History State of New-York.

CHAPTER IX.

Colonel Van Schaick marches from Fort Schuyler on the Mohawk, against the Onondagas, on Onondaga Creek, and lays their settlements waste—Expedition against the Senecas—General Sullivan marches with three thousand men, from Easton on the Delaware, to Tioga Point, at the confluence of Susquehannah and Tioga rivers—General Clinton proceeds with one thousand men, from the Mohawk, to the outlet of Otsego Lake, and thence down the Susquehannah, to Tioga Point, and joins Sullivan—The Generals Sullivan and Clinton decamp and advance up the Tioga—Battle near where Newton now is—Sullivan and Clinton resume their march, and reach Genesee River—The Americans destroy the Indian towns, villages and corn fields along Genesee River—Colonel Broadhead invades the Indian settlements on the Alleghany River, and wastes them with fire—Colonel Brandt, the celebrated Indian Chief, enters Minisink in the county of Orange, and partly wastes it—The militia of the town of Goshen, and the adjoining parts, pursue Colonel Brandt, but are surprised and defeated—The British make an incursion from New-York into Virginia, take Portsmouth and other places on Elizabeth and James' Rivers, and destroy much property—The British, under Governor Tryon and Sir George Collyer, make an inroad into Connecticut, and burn Fairfield—New Haven taken and plundered—Skirmish between the royal troops and the Americans at Reading—Incident of Putnam descending the precipice at that place on horseback—General Wayne, with a detachment of the American army, storms Stoney Point—Sir Henry Clinton sets out from New-York to retake Stoney Point—The Americans abandon it, after demolishing the works—Major Lee, with some Americans, surprises the British commandant at Powles' Hook in New-Jersey—Hostilities in the Southern states—Savannah in Georgia taken—Nearly all of

Georgia submits to the royal government—Colonel Pitkins defeats a body of tories—General Lincoln takes the command in the south—The British, under Colonel Provost, defeat the Americans under General Ash—Governor Rutledge armed with dictatorial power—The British invade South Carolina, and advance in sight of Charleston—General Lincoln compels the British to retire—Arrival of the Count D'Estaing on the coast of Georgia—The Americans and French repulsed in an attempt to storm Savannah—Paper money—Its depreciation.

1779.—ALTHOUGH the projected invasion of Canada was laid aside, yet several expeditions were undertaken, and carried into effect against the Indians, who infested the border settlements of New-York and Pennsylvania. General Schuyler was very instrumental in planning and getting these expeditions on foot. The first expedition undertaken was against the Onondagas, who dwelt on the creek of that name, about fifty-three miles westerly of Fort Schuyler, on the Mohawk. On the nineteenth of April, 1779, Colonel Goose Van Schaick, assisted by Lieutenant-colonel Willet and Major Cochran, with between five and six hundred men, commenced his march from the latter place, for Onondaga, which he reached on the morning of the third day. The Onondagas not apprehending a visit at this season of the year, were entirely unprepared, and fled to the woods on the first appearance of the Americans; twelve, however, were killed, and thirty-four made prisoners in the flight. Colonel Van Schaick caused all their houses and provisions to be burned, and the whole settlement, extending eight miles along the creek, to be laid waste. This expedition was performed in less than six days, and without the loss of a man.

Fort Schuyler, from whence the troops set out, stood hard by where the bridge over the Mohawk at Utica now is. At that time the whole space between the Mohawk River and Onondaga Creek, was covered with woods, and was without roads or civilized inhabitants.

The second expedition was principally against the Senecas, who had their main stations on the banks of Genesee River. The chief command of the troops employed in this enterprise, was conferred on general Sullivan. Tioga Point, in Pennsylvania, at the union of the Susquehannah and Tioga Rivers, was selected for the rendezvous of the troops. General Sullivan, with three thousand men, set out from Easton on the Delaware, and advanced up the Susquehannah to that place, where he was joined by General Clinton, with upwards of one thousand. The latter had marched from the Mohawk to the outlet of Otsego Lake, by the way of Cherry Valley, whence he descended the Susquehannah. The water in the river, when he reached the outlet, was too low to float his boats. To remedy this, General Clinton caused a dam to be constructed across the outlet, for the purpose of preventing the escape of the waters, till they should rise sufficiently high for his boats. This lake being fed by springs, soon rose to the height he wished, when he ordered the dam to be cut down. This raised the river so much, that he was enabled to descend in boats to Oquago, whence to Tioga Point—there is always sufficient depth of water. After the junction of these troops, General Sullivan resumed his march for the country of the Senecas. His route lay up Tioga and Conhocton Rivers. The Indians on hearing of the expedition projected against them, behaved with firmness. They collected their forces, and took a strong position on Tioga River, near Newton, in the county of Tioga, and fortified it with skill and judgment. General Sullivan attacked them in this position. They stood a cannonade for more than two hours, during which time several assaults were repelled; but they were forced to give way and abandon their works. This engagement was decisive; after the trenches were forced, the Indians fled without attempting to rally. They were pursued by the Americans for several miles, but with little or no effect. The consternation, occasioned among them by this defeat, was so great, that they gave up all ideas of further resistance. As the Americans advanced into their settlements, the Indians retired before them, without throwing any obstructions

in their way. The Generals Sullivan and Clinton penetrated into the midst of the Seneca's country, and spread desolation on every side. Eighteen towns and villages, besides hamlets and detached habitations were burned. All their fields of corn, and whatever else was in a state of cultivation, were destroyed. Nothing in the form of a house was left standing, nor was any Indian to be seen. The lands, about the towns and villages, were under tolerably good cultivation, and some of their houses were large and commodious. The quantity of corn destroyed was immense. Orchards, in which were several hundred fruit trees, were cut down. Their gardens, which contained great quantities of useful vegetables, were laid waste. The troops were so inflamed with indignation against the Indians, on account of the many murders they had committed on the back settlers, that they were determined not to leave the country, before the work of destruction was fully consummated.

The Indians, by this expedition, being made to feel in a very sensible manner, those calamities they had been accustomed to inflict on others, became cautious and timid. The sufferings which they had to endure, and the dread of a repetition of them, in case they should again provoke the indignation of the American people, damped the ardour of their warriors considerably, and rendered their inroads less frequent and destructive.

While Generals Sullivan and Clinton were engaged in wasting the Indian settlements on Tioga, Conhocton and Genesee rivers, Colonel Broadhead executed a successful expedition against the Mingo, Munsi, and Seneca Indians, residing on the Alleghany River. He set out about the first of August from Pittsburgh, with six hundred and five men, and proceeded up that river about two hundred miles, destroying in his way all the Indian habitations and corn fields which lay in his route. Colonel Broadhead spent five weeks in this expedition.

On the twenty-third of July the celebrated Colonel Brandt, with sixty Indians and twenty-seven white men, attacked the Minisink settlement, and burnt ten houses, twelve barns, a fort, and two mills, and carried away much property which they plundered, together with several prisoners. The militia from

the town of Goshen and the neighbourhood assembled, to the number of one hundred and fifty, and went in pursuit of them, but with so little caution, that they were surprised and completely routed. The Minisink settlement was then in the county of Orange; it is now partly in the latter county and partly in Sullivan county. This inroad was made about the time that Generals Sullivan and Clinton were commencing the invasion of the Seneca country.

Throughout the year 1779, the British seem to have aimed at little more in the states, northward of North Carolina, than depredation. One of these, consisting of both naval and land forces, was intrusted to Sir George Collyer and General Matthews, who made a descent on Virginia. They sailed for Portsmouth on the tenth of May, and on their arrival took possession of that defenceless town. The remains of Norfolk, on the opposite side of the river, fell of course into their hands. The Americans burned some of their own vessels, but others were made prizes by the invaders. The British guards marched eighteen miles in the night, and arriving at Suffolk court-house by morning, destroyed the vessels, naval stores, and a large magazine of provisions. Similar destruction was carried on at Kemp's Landing, Shepherd's Gospert, Tanner's Creek, and other places in the vicinity. The frigates and armed vessels were employed on the same business along the margins of the rivers Above one hundred and thirty vessels were either destroyed or taken, and all that were on the stocks burned. The fleet and army then returned to New-York. This expedition into Virginia distressed a number of its inhabitants, and enriched the British forces, but was of no service to the common cause.

In about five weeks after the termination of the expedition to Virginia, a similar one was projected against the exposed margin of Connecticut. Governor Tryon was appointed to the command of about two thousand six hundred land forces, employed on this business. The transports which conveyed these troops were covered by a number of armed vessels, commanded by Sir George Collyer. They proceeded from the city of New-

York on the fifth of July, by the way of Hurl-gate, and passing down the Sound, landed at East Haven. The commanders made an address to the inhabitants, in which they invited them to return to their allegiance, and promised protection to all who should remain peaceably at home, &c. One of the addresses was sent by a flag to Colonel Whiting, of the militia, near Fairfield. The colonel was allowed one hour for his answer, but he had scarcely time to read it before the town was in flames. The British marched from their landing to New Haven. The town, on their entering it, was given up to be plundered, a few instances of protection excepted. An aged citizen, who laboured under a natural impediment of speech, had his tongue cut out. After perpetrating every species of enormity, but that of burning houses, the invaders re-embarked and went to Fairfield. The militia of that place and the vicinity being assembled, posted themselves at the court-house green, and gave considerable annoyance to them as they were advancing, but soon retired to the height back of the town. The town was evacuated by the inhabitants, except some women, who remained with the view of saving their property. These supposed that their sex would protect them, but they soon had reason to repent of their temerity. Parties of the royal army entered the deserted houses, broke open desks, trunks, and chests, and took every thing of value. They robbed the women of their buckles, rings, bonnets, aprons, and handkerchiefs. They abused them, threatened their lives, and presented bayonets to their breasts. Towards evening they began to burn the houses. The women begged Governor Tryon to spare the town. Mr. Sayer, the Episcopal clergyman, who had suffered for his attachment to the royal cause, joined the women in their request, but it was unavailing. They then begged that a few houses might be spared for a general shelter, but he declined to spare beyond two buildings, and the places for public worship.

The British in this excursion also burned East Haven, and the greatest part of Green's Farms, and the town of Norwalk. Considerable numbers of ships, either finished or on the stocks,

with a large amount of stores and merchandise, were destroyed.

The fires and destruction which accompanied this expedition, were severely censured by the Americans, and apologized for by the British in a manner altogether unsatisfactory.

While the British were carrying on these desolating operations, Washington was called upon for continental troops, but he was unable to spare enough to afford relief and protection. He durst not detach largely, as he was apprehensive that one design of the British, in these predatory excursions, was to draw off a proportion of his army from West Point, on the Hudson, to favour an intended attack on that important post. General Parsons, though closely connected with Connecticut, it being his native state, and though from his small force he was unable to make successful opposition to the invaders, did not press the commander-in-chief for reinforcements. Had Washington divided his army conformably to the wishes of the invaded citizens, he would have subjected his whole force to be cut up in detail.

His army was posted at some distance from the British headquarters, in the city of New-York, and on both sides of the Hudson. The advance, consisting of three hundred infantry, and one hundred and fifty cavalry, under Colonel White, patroled constantly for several months, in front of the British lines, and kept a constant watch on the Sound and on the Hudson. This corps had sundry skirmishes with parties of the British, and was particularly useful in checking their excursions, and in procuring and communicating intelligence of their movements.

About this time General Putnam, who had been stationed at Reading, in Connecticut, when on a visit to his outpost at Horse Neck, was attacked by Governor Tryon, with fifteen hundred men. General Putnam had only one hundred and fifty men, and two field pieces. He, however, planted his cannon on the high ground near the meeting-house, and by several fires retarded the advancing enemy, and continued to make opposition, till he perceived the enemy's horse, supported by the infantry, were about to charge, when after ordering his men to

provide for their own safety, by retiring to a swamp inaccessible to cavalry, he rode down the precipice at the church. This is so steep as to have artificial stairs, composed of nearly one hundred steps, cut in the rocks, for the convenience of foot passengers. The cavalry of the enemy, on coming to the verge of this precipice, stopped short, without venturing down, and before they could get round the brow of the hill, Putnam was beyond their reach. He proceeded to Stamford, and having strengthened his little band with some militia, faced about, and pursued Tryon on his return.

The campaign, though barren of great events, was distinguished by one of the most gallant enterprises which took place in the course of the war. This was the capture of Stoney Point, on the Hudson. General Wayne, who conducted this enterprise, set out on the fourteenth day of July, about noon, at the head of a strong detachment of infantry, and completed a march of fourteen miles over bad roads, by eight o'clock in the evening. The detachment, being then within a mile and a half of its object, was halted and formed into columns. Wayne, with a few of his officers, advanced and reconnoitred the works. At half-past eleven the whole moved forward to the assault. The van of the right, consisting of one hundred and fifty volunteers, under Lieutenant-colonel Fleury, advanced with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. These were preceded by twenty picked men, who were to remove the abbatis and other obstructions. The van of the left was led by Major Stewart, and moved forward also with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. It was also preceded by a similar forlorn hope. Wayne put himself at the head of the right column, and gave orders not to fire, but to depend on the bayonet. The two columns directed their attacks to opposite points of the works, while a party engaged the attention of the garrison by a feint in their front. The approaches were more difficult than had been anticipated; the works were defended by a deep morass—but neither the morass, the double abbatis, nor the strength of the works, damped the ardour of the troops. In the face of a tremendous fire of musketry and cannon, they forced their way at the point

of the bayonet, and both columns met in the centre of the works, at nearly the same instant. Wayne, as he passed the last abbatis, was wounded in the head by a musket ball, but the wound was not dangerous. Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, who led the forlorn hope, escaped unhurt, although the first lost seventeen men out of twenty, and the last nearly as many. The killed and wounded of the Americans amounted to ninety-eight. The killed of the garrison were sixty-three, and the number of their prisoners five hundred and forty-three. Two standards, fifteen pieces of cannon, and a considerable quantity of military stores, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The clemency shown to the vanquished was highly applauded. The custom of war, and the recent barbarities at Norwalk, New Haven and Fairfield, would have been an apology, had the Americans put the whole garrison to death.

Upon the capture of Stoney Point, the Americans turned its artillery against Verplanck's Point, and fired upon it with so much effect, that the shipping in its vicinity had to cut their cables and fall down the river. As soon as the news of the capture of Stoney Point reached New-York, Sir Henry Clinton caused immediate preparations to be made to relieve the garrison at Verplank's Point, and to recover the former. Washington, who was not inclined to risk an engagement for either or both of them, gave orders to remove the cannon and stores, destroy the works, and evacuate the post. The British commander, therefore, regained possession of Stoney Point on the third day after its capture, and placed in it a strong garrison.

The successful enterprise of the Americans at Stoney Point was speedily followed by another, which equalled it in boldness of design. This was the surprise of the British garrison at Powles' Hook, (now Jersey City) opposite to the city of New-York, which was effected by Major Lee, with three hundred and fifty men. Major Sutherland, the commander, with a number of Hessians, got off to a small block-house on the left of the fort, but thirty of his men were killed, and one hundred and sixty taken prisoners. Major Lee made an immediate retreat.

These advantages were more than counterbalanced, by an unsuccessful attempt made by the state of Massachusetts, on a British post at Penobscot. Colonel M'Clean, by the direction of Sir Henry Clinton, landed with a detachment of six hundred and fifty men, from Halifax, on the 16th of June, on the banks of the river Penobscot, in the state of Maine, and proceeded soon after to construct a fort in a well chosen situation. This occasioned an alarm at Boston; to counteract the establishment of the post, measures were resolved upon. That armed vessels, transports, and sailors might be secured for the expedition, an embargo for forty days was laid by the state of Massachusetts on all its shipping. A considerable armament, consisting of eighteen armed vessels, besides transports, was fitted out with extraordinary dispatch. A body of land forces, commanded by General Lovel, embarked on this expedition. On the twenty-fifth of July, the Massachusetts fleet, consisting of thirty-seven sail, appeared off Penobscot. General Lovel, on his landing, summoned Colonel M'Clean to surrender, which being refused, he proceeded to erect a battery. A cannonading commenced, and was kept up for about two weeks, but without much effect. While the besiegers were making preparations for an assault, Sir George Collyer appeared in view, with a squadron, for the relief of the garrison. His marine force consisted of the Raisonable, of sixty-four guns, and five frigates. The Americans at first made a display of risistance, but it was only to give the transports time to move up the river and debark the troops. The superior force of the enemy was irresistible, and the escape of the Americans impracticable. A general flight on the one side, and a general pursuit on the other, took place. Sir George Collyer destroyed and captured seventeen vessels. The American soldiers and sailors had to return a great part of their way by land through thick woods.

In the mean time hostilities between the fleets of France and Great Britain were carrying on in the East and West Indies, and the European seas, and along the coast of the United States.

In June, Spain declared war against Great Britain. This

event was altogether unexpected to the British ministry, who had supposed that Spain, in as much as she possessed colonies, would not set so bad an example to them, as to give any countenance to the Americans. The event, however, demonstrated that nations are not always governed by fixed principles, and that similarity in circumstances does not occasion a similarity in action.

The situation of Great Britain was at this time critical. She was weakened and distracted in a domestic contest, in which victory produced no solid advantages, but defeat its natural effects. In the midst of this wasting contest, in which her ability to reduce her revolted colonies was doubtful, she was suddenly involved in a new and much more dangerous war with one of the greatest powers in Europe. At this very time, when she was engaged in this double warfare, the Spaniards added their forces to that of her other foes.

In this situation an abandonment of the war with the United States was recommended by some of the leading men in the nation, but this recommendation was overruled by Parliament.

In the year 1779, though the war was carried on for little more than distress and depredation in the northern and middle states, the re-establishment of the British government was attempted in Carolina and Georgia. After the reduction of Savannah, a great part of the state of Georgia was restored to the King's peace. The royal army was strengthened by a powerful reinforcement from East Florida, and the whole was put under the command of General Provost. There were at that time but few continental troops in Georgia and South Carolina, and scarce any in North Carolina. A body of militia was detached by North Carolina to aid her sister states. These joined the continentals, but not before they had retreated out of Georgia, and taken post in South Carolina. Towards the close of the year, General Lincoln was appointed to take the command of the southern army, which then consisted of only a few hundred continentals. To supply the deficiency of regular troops, a considerable body of militia was ordered to join him, but they added much more to his numbers than to his effective

force. They had not yet learned that implicit obedience was necessary to insure success in military operations. Accustomed to habits of freedom and independence, they reluctantly submitted to discipline. The royal army at Savannah, being reinforced by the troops from St. Augustine, was enabled to extend their posts. The first object was to take possession of Port Royal, in South Carolina. Major Gardiner, being detached with two hundred men, landed on the island, but General Moultrie, at the head of an equal number of Americans, attacked and drove him off. This repulse restrained the British from attempting any immediate enterprise to the northward of Savannah, but they fixed posts at Ebenezer and Augusta, and extended themselves over a great part of Georgia; they also attempted to strengthen themselves, by means of the tories, in the western settlements of that state and North Carolina. Emissaries were sent among the inhabitants of that description, to encourage them to a general insurrection. Several hundreds of them accordingly rose, and after rendezvousing, set off to join the royal army at Augusta. They had, however, no sooner embodied and begun their march, than they commenced such a scene of plunder on the defenceless settlements through which they passed, as induced the inhabitants to turn out to oppose them.

Colonel Pickins, with about three hundred men of the latter description, pursued and came up with them, when an action commenced, which ended in the defeat of the tories. Colonel Boyd, their leader, with forty men, were killed. By this action the British were disconcerted in some of their plans; the tories were dispersed—some ran quite off, while others returned home, and threw themselves on the mercy of their country. These were tried by the laws of South Carolina, and seventy were condemned to die, but the sentence was only executed on five of their ringleaders.

As the British extended their posts on the Georgia side of Savannah River, General Lincoln fixed encampments at Black Swamp, nearly opposite to Augusta, on the Carolina side. With the view of confining the British to the low country near

the ocean, General Lincoln formed a plan for crossing into Georgia. In the execution of this design, General Ash, with fifteen hundred North Carolina militia and a few regulars, after crossing the Savannah, took a position on Briar Creek; but in a few days he was surprised by Lieutenant-colonel Provost, who, having made a circuitous march of fifty miles, came unexpectedly on his rear with nine hundred men. The militia were thrown into confusion, and fled at the first fire. One hundred and fifty were killed, and one hundred and sixty-two were taken prisoners. Many were drowned in the Savannah River. Of those who escaped, a great part returned home. The continentals, under Colonel Elbert, made a stout resistance, but were at length compelled to surrender. This untoward event deprived General Lincoln of one-fourth of his numbers, and opened a communication between the British, the Indians, and the tories of North and South Carolina.

Unexperienced in the art of war, the Americans were subject to those reverses of fortune which usually attend soldiers in their first essays. Unacquainted with military stratagems, deficient in discipline, and not thoroughly broken to habits of implicit obedience, they were often surprised, and had to learn, by repeated misfortunes, the necessity of subordination and discipline.

The disasters which had followed the American arms since the landing of the British near Savannah, occasioned well-founded apprehensions for the safety of the adjacent states. The militia of South Carolina was, therefore, put on a better footing, and a regiment of cavalry was raised. John Rutledge was called to the chair of government, and invested, with his council, with dictatorial powers. He convened a numerous body of the militia near the centre of the state, that they might be in readiness to march whithersoever public service required. The original plan of penetrating into Georgia was resumed; part of the American force was stationed on the north side of the Savannah, at Purrysburgh and Black Swamp, while General Lincoln and the main army crossed into Georgia, near Augusta. General Provost availed himself of the moment when

the American army had ascended one hundred and fifty miles, towards the source of the Savannah, and crossed into South Carolina, over the same river, near its mouth, with two thousand four hundred men, and a considerable body of Indians. The superior forces of the British soon compelled General Moultrie to retire. General Lincoln, on receiving information of this, detached three hundred of his light troops to the assistance of Moultrie, and then marched with his main army towards the capital of Georgia. He was induced to march on Savannah, from an idea that General Provost meant nothing more than to divert him by a feint on South Carolina; but when he found that the latter was pushing for Charleston, he re-crossed the Savannah and pursued him. The British proceeded by the main road, near the coast, with little opposition, and in the mean time the Americans retreated before them towards Charleston. Meeting with little difficulty, and finding many of the inhabitants friendly to the royal cause, General Provost continued his march, and about the tenth of May, appeared before the town, which was defended by three thousand three hundred men, mostly militia.

Meanwhile General Lincoln advanced with all possible dispatch to the relief of Charleston. The British general, on learning this, retreated to the islands near the sea, in order to avoid being placed between two armies. Very soon after this, General Lincoln arrived in the vicinity of Charleston, and encamped over against the enemy. On the twentieth of June, an attack was made by about twelve hundred Americans on seven hundred of the British posted at Stono Ferry; but the latter, being protected by strong works, compelled the former to retire, with the loss of one hundred and fifty men.

Immediately after this affair, the militia, impatient of absence from their homes, returned, and about the same time the enemy left the islands adjacent to Charleston, retreating from one island to another, till they reached Port Royal and Savannah.

This incursion, like those made in the middle and northern states, contributed very little to the promotion of the royal cause, although it added much to the wealth of the officers and

followers of the army. The forces under Provost spread themselves over a considerable part of the richest settlements, and where there were the fewest white people in proportion to the number of slaves. There was much to attract, and but little to oppose the invaders. Every place in their line of march experienced the effects of their rapacity.

Soon after the retreat of the enemy, General Lincoln retired from Charleston, with the continentals, to Sheldon, where he remained till the arrival, on the coast of Georgia, of a French fleet, consisting of twenty sail of the line and thirteen frigates, under the command of Count D'Estaing. This was about the first of September, and his appearance was so unexpected, that a fifty gun ship and three frigates, belonging to the enemy, fell into his hands.

As soon as his arrival was known, General Lincoln decamped, and marched for the vicinity of Savannah, for the purpose of acting in concert with the French, against the British. Orders were given for the militia of South Carolina and Georgia to rendezvous near the same place.

The British general, anticipating an attack from the Americans and French, set about strengthening the works at Savannah. The American militia, buoyed up with the hope of expelling the enemy from Georgia, turned out with alacrity. D'Estaing, before the arrival of General Lincoln, demanded the surrender of the town to the arms of France. Provost asked a suspension of hostilities for twenty-four hours, for preparing terms of capitulation, which was granted. Before the twenty-four hours had elapsed, Lieutenant-colonel Maitland, with several hundred men, who had been stationed at Beaufort, made their way through many obstacles, and joined the royal army cooped up in Savannah. The general, encouraged by the arrival of this force, determined on resistance. The French and Americans, who formed a junction the evening after, were therefore reduced to the necessity of storming or besieging the place. The resolution of proceeding by siege being adopted, several days were unavoidably consumed in preparing for it. Meanwhile, the garrison were indefatigable in strengthening

their works. The besiegers, on the fourth of October, opened their batteries on the town. Soon after the commencement of the cannonade, Provost solicited for leave to send the women and children out of the place; but this was refused. On a report from the engineers, that a considerable time would be necessary to reduce the garrison by regular approaches, it was determined to make an assault. This measure was forced on Count D'Estaing by his marine officers, who remonstrated against his continuing to risk so valuable a fleet on a dangerous coast, in the hurricane season, and at so great a distance from the shore. Under these circumstances, no farther delay, it was alleged, ought to be made. To assault or raise the siege was therefore the alternative. The former was agreed on. Two feints were made by the militia, and a real attack, with three thousand five hundred French troops, and nine hundred and fifty continentals and militia from Charleston. These marched up to the lines, under the command of the Count D'Estaing and General Lincoln, but a heavy and well directed fire threw the front of their columns into confusion, and it being found impossible to carry the place, a retreat was ordered. Count D'Estaing and Count Pulaski, were both wounded—the former slightly, but the latter mortally. Six hundred and thirty-seven of the French, and upwards of two hundred of the Americans, were killed or wounded. The force of the garrison was between two and three thousand men. Immediately after this unsuccessful assault, the militia, almost universally, went home. Count D'Estaing re-embarked his troops, and left the continent.

This visit of the French fleet to the coast of America, though unsuccessful as to its main object, was not without utility to the United States. It disconcerted the measures already digested by the British commanders, and caused a considerable waste of time before they could determine on a new plan of operations. It also occasioned the evacuation of Rhode Island.

The siege of Savannah being raised, the continentals, under General Lincoln, retreated over the river, and took post. The

vicissitudes of an autumnal atmosphere made a severe impression on the troops, exhausted as they were by fatigue, and dejected by defeat. The Georgia exiles, who had assembled to re-possess themselves of their estates, were a second time obliged to flee. The most gloomy apprehensions, respecting the southern states, took possession of the minds of the people.

Thus ended the southern campaign of 1779, without any thing decisive on either side. After one year, in which the British had overrun the state of Georgia, for one hundred and fifty miles from the sea-coast, and had penetrated as far as Charleston, they were reduced to their original limits in Savannah. All their schemes of co-operation with the tories had failed, and the spirits of that class of the inhabitants were broken.

The campaign of 1779, is remarkable for the feeble exertions of the Americans. Accidental causes which had previously excited their activity, had, in a great measure, ceased to have influence. An enthusiasm for liberty made them brave every danger in the first years of the war. The successes of their arms at Trenton and Princeton, and the capture of Burgoyne, made the close of the campaign of 1776, and that of 1777, both active and decisive. The flattering prospects inspired by the alliance with France in 1778, banished all fears of the success of the revolution, but the failure of every scheme of co-operation, produced a despondency of mind, unfavourable to great exertions. Instead of driving the British out of the country, as was vainly presumed, the campaigns of 1778 and 1779, ended without any very great advantage from the French fleet, sent to their aid. Expecting too much from their allies, and then failing in their own exertions, they were less prepared to prosecute the war from their own resources, than they otherwise would have been, had D'Estaing not touched on their coast. Their army was reduced and badly clothed. In the first years of the war, the mercantile character, which is usually unfavourable to war, was lost in the military spirit of the times; but in the progress of it, the people cooling in their enthusiasm, gradually returned to their former habits of lucrative business.

This made distinctions between the army and the citizens, which were unfriendly to military exertions. While several events tended to the embarrassment of Great Britain, and indirectly to the establishment of independence, a variety of internal causes relaxed the exertions of the Americans, and for a time made it doubtful whether they would ultimately be independent citizens or conquered subjects. Among these, the depreciation of their bills of credit, held a distinguished pre-eminence.

Money is not less essential to carrying on war than valour in the field, or wisdom in the national council. In the United States, silver and gold were in small quantities, and altogether inadequate to the demands of war, nor could they be obtained from abroad, as the channels of commerce were suspended. Congress could not resort to taxation, because the contest in dispute was on the subject of taxation. The only expedient in their power to adopt, was the emission of credit, under a public engagement, to be redeemed by equal taxes, or exchanged for silver or gold. The practice of emitting bills under the colonial governments, with proper restrictions, had often been resorted to. Custom seemed to warrant the course. The resolution of Congress, in June, 1775, to raise an army, was therefore followed by another, to emit bills of credit to the amount of two millions of dollars. To that sum, on the 25th of the next month, it was resolved to add another million. For their redemption, they pledged the confederated colonies, and directed each colony to find ways and means to sink its proportion in four annual payments, the first to be made on or before the last day of November, 1779. On the twenty-ninth of November, 1775, an estimate having been made by Congress, of the expense already incurred, or likely to be incurred, in carrying on their defence till the tenth of June, 1776, it was resolved to emit the further sum of three millions of dollars, to be redeemed as the former, by four annual payments, the first to be made on or before the last day of November, 1783. Hitherto, all the arrangements, both for men and money, were temporary, and founded on the supposed probability of a recon-

ciliation. Early in 1776, Congress obtained information that Great Britain had contracted for sixteen thousand mercenaries, to be sent over for the purpose of subduing the colonies. This induced them to extend their plan of defence beyond the tenth of June, 1776. They, therefore, on the seventeenth of February, 1776, ordered four millions of dollars to be emitted, and on the ninth of May, and the twenty-second of July following, emitted ten millions more on the same security. Such was the animation of the times, that these several emissions, amounting to twenty-two millions of dollars, circulated for several months without any depreciation. But there was a point, both in time and quantity, beyond which these bills ceased to operate. That time was about eighteen months from the date of their first emission.

Independence being declared in the second year of the war, and the object for which arms were at first assumed, being changed, it was obvious that more money must be procured, and equally so, that if bills of credit were multiplied beyond a reasonable amount, they must depreciate. It was, therefore, on the third of October, 1776, resolved to borrow five millions of dollars, and in the month following, a lottery was set on foot, for obtaining a further sum on loan. The expenses of the war were so great, that the money arising from both, fell far short. Congress thought it premature to urge taxation; they therefore reiterated the expedient of further emissions. The ease with which supplies were procured by bills of credit, and the readiness of the people to receive them, prompted Congress to multiply them. A diminution of their value was the consequence. This was, at first, scarcely perceivable, but it daily increased. The zeal of the people, nevertheless, so far overbalanced the nice mercantile calculations of interest, that the campaigns of 1776 and 1777, were not affected by the depreciation of the paper currency. Congress foresaw that this could not long be the case. It was, therefore, on the twenty-second of November, 1777, recommended to the several states, to raise by taxes, the sum of five millions of dollars for the service of 1778.

Previously to this, it had been resolved to borrow larger sums, the interest of which was to be payable in France, out of moneys borrowed there by the United States. This tax failed in several of the states. From the impossibility of procuring a sufficiency of money, either from loans or taxes, the old expedient of farther emissions was reiterated; but the value decreased as the quantity increased. Congress, to put a stop to the increase of their bills of credit, and to provide a fund for reducing what were issued, called upon the states, on the first of January, 1779, to pay into the continental treasury their respective quotas of fifteen millions of dollars, for the service of that year, and of six millions annually, from and after that year, as a fund for the reduction of their early emissions and loans.

In addition to these fifteen millions, called for on the first of January, 1779, the states were, on the twenty-second of May following, called on to furnish for the public service, within the current year, their respective quotas of forty-five millions of dollars. These requisitions were by no means sufficient. From the fluctuating state of the money, it was impossible to make any certain calculation, for it was not two days of the same value. A sum, which when demanded, would have purchased the commodities wanted for the public service, was inadequate when the collection was made. The depreciation began at different periods in different states, but became universal about the middle of 1777. Towards the end of 1777, the depreciation was about two or three for one; in 1778, it advanced from two or three for one, to five or six for one; in 1779, from five or six for one, to twenty-seven or twenty-eight for one; in 1780, from twenty-seven or twenty-eight for one, to fifty or sixty for one, in the first four or five months. Its circulation was afterwards partial, but where it passed it soon depreciated to one hundred and fifty for one. In some few parts, it continued in circulation for the first four or five months of 1781, but in this latter period many would not take it at any rate.

As there was a general clamour, on account of the floods of money, which at successive periods had deluged the states, Congress resolved, in October, 1779, that no farther sum should

be issued than what, when added to the present sum in circulation, would amount to two hundred millions of dollars. It was at the same time resolved, that Congress should emit only such a part of the sum wanting to make up two hundred millions, as should be necessary for the public exigencies, before adequate supplies could be otherwise obtained, relying for such supplies on the exertions of the several states. This was represented, in a circular letter from Congress to their constituents, and the states were entreated to prevent the evils which would flow from their neglecting to furnish adequate supplies for the wants of the confederacy. The same circular letter stated the practicability of redeeming all the bills at par, and rejected the supposition, that the states would ever tarnish their credit by violating public faith. These declarations in favour of the paper currency, induced many to repose confidence in it to their ruin.

From the non-compliance of the states, Congress was obliged, in a short time after the date of their circular letter, to issue such a farther quantity, as when added to previous emissions, made two hundred millions of dollars. Besides this immense sum, the paper emissions of the different states amounted to many millions, which mixed with the continental money, and added to the depreciation. The source which for five years had enabled Congress to keep an army in the field, being exhausted, Washington was reduced, for some time, to the alternative of disbanding his troops, or of supplying them by military force. He preferred the latter, and the inhabitants of New-York and New-Jersey, though they felt the injury, saw the necessity, and submitted.

The states were next called upon to furnish, in lieu of money, determinate quantities of beef, pork, flour, and other articles, for the use of the army. This was found so difficult, partial, and expensive, that it was abandoned. About this time, Congress resolved upon another expedient. This was to issue a new species of paper money, under the guarantee of the several states. The old money was to be called in by taxes, and as soon as brought in was to be burnt, and in lieu thereof one

dollar of the new was to be emitted for every twenty of the old, so that when the whole two hundred millions were drawn in and cancelled, only ten millions of the new should be issued in their place. four-tenths of which were to be subject to the order of Congress, and the remaining six-tenths to the order of the several states. These new bills were to be redeemable in specie within six years, and to bear an interest at the rate of five per cent. to be paid at the redemption of the bills, or at the election of the owners, annually, in bills of exchange on the United States' commissioners in Europe.

From the execution of these resolutions, it was expected that the old money would be cancelled; that the currency would be reduced to a standard; that the states would be supplied with the means of purchasing the supplies required of them, and that Congress would be furnished with money to provide for the exigencies of the war. The new paper currency answered very little purpose. Congress expected, by changing the ground of credit, to gain a repetition of the advantages which resulted from the first paper expedient, but this expectation was delusive. By this time much of the popular enthusiasm had spent itself, and confidence in public engagements was nearly expired. The event proved that credit is of too delicate a nature to be sported with, and can only be maintained by honesty and punctuality.

To prevent the depreciation of their paper money, Congress, on several occasions, attempted to prop its credit by unjustifiable means. They recommended to the states to pass laws for regulating the prices of labour, and all sorts of commodities, and for confiscating and selling the estates of tories, and for investing the money arising from the sales thereof in certificates. They also recommended to the states to pass laws for making the paper money a legal tender at its nominal value, in the discharge of debts; and that whosoever should ask or receive more in their bills of credit than the nominal sum thereof in Spanish dollars, or more in the said bills for commodities, than the same would be purchased from the same person in gold or silver, or offer to sell any commodities for gold and silver, and refuse to

sell the same for their bills, should be deemed an enemy to the United States, and forfeit the property so sold or offered for sale. The laws which were passed by the states for regulating the prices of labour and commodities, were found on experiment to be visionary and impracticable.

These laws, in the first instance, produced an artificial scarcity, and had they not been repealed, would soon have occasioned a real one. The confiscation and sale of the property of tories brought but very little into the treasury. The most extensive mischiefs resulted in the progress and towards the close of the war, from the operation of the laws which made the paper bills a tender in the discharge of debts.

The aged, who had retired from business to enjoy the fruits of their industry, found their substance melting away to a mere pittance. The widow, who lived on the bequests of her deceased husband, experienced a frustration of his tenderness. The laws compelled her to receive a shilling where a pound was her due. The virgin, who had grown up with a title to a patrimony, was stripped of every thing but her virtue. The orphan, instead of receiving from the executor his due, was obliged to give a discharge on the payment of six-pence in the pound. The earnings of a long life were, in a few years, reduced to a trifling sum.

Such were the evils which resulted from paper money. On the other hand, it was the occasion of good to many. In the first years of the war it enabled Congress and the states to raise armies and carry on the contest.

See Marshall's Life of Washington, and Ramsey's History of the Revolutionary War, &c.

CHAPTER X.

The French fleet leaves the American coast—Sir Henry Clinton, with a powerful British army, invades South Carolina—Charleston invested by the British—General Lincoln is forced to surrender Charleston, in consequence of the inhabitants of South Carolina declining him aid—Detachments of the British army march into the country—Sir Henry Clinton, with part of the British army, returns to New-York—Most of South Carolina submits to the British—Troops sent from the northern and middle states to oppose the British—Sumpter defeats a party of British troops and royalists—Baron de Kalb, with a body of continentals, arrives in South Carolina—Gates supersedes de Kalb—The Americans, under Gates, march towards Camden—Lord Cornwallis quits Camden, with the British army, and advances to meet Gates—Battle—The American army is defeated and dispersed—Sumpter's corps surprised a few days after Gates' defeat—Gates flies to Hillsborough, with a handful of men—Rigorous measures pursued by Lord Cornwallis—Baneful effects of slavery—Operations of Marion—A large body of loyalists, under Colonel Ferguson, defeated—Tarleton repulsed by Sumpter—General Greene takes the command of the Southern army—Lord Stirling fails in an attempt to dislodge the British from Staten Island—Severity of the winter—General Knyphausen makes an inroad into New-Jersey with 5000 men—Disaffection in the army—The soldiers at Fort Schuyler, on the Mohawk, mutiny—Two regiments of the Connecticut line follow their example—Distress of the American army—Is subsisted by forced requisitions—Derangement of the commissariat department—A committee, of whom General Schuyler was the head, deputed by Congress to the American camp, to examine the condition of the army—Report of the committee—Grievances of the army are remedied—General Schuyler, the principal of the committee, proposes

a plan for raising and subsisting the troops, which is acceded to—The friendly disposition of the French—Arrival of M. de Ternay and Count de Rochambeau at Rhode Island, with powerful forces to aid the Americans—Sir Henry Clinton embarks 8000 men at New-York, and sails for Rhode Island, to attack the French—The royalists and Indians break twice into the Mohawk and Schoharie countries, and devastate them —Treason of Arnold—Causes that led him to it—His correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, the British commander, at New-York—He proposes to deliver up West Point and its dependencies—Interview between Arnold and Major Andre at the lines, &c.—Detention of Andre—Arnold gives him a passport to White Plains, &c.—Andre taken by Paulding, Williams, and Van Wert, of the New-York militia, and carried to Colonel Jameson, their commander—Andre apprises Arnold of his arrest and detention—Arnold flees on board the Vulture, a British sloop of war, lying in the Hudson—Andre tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to death—Intercession by Sir Henry Clinton in his behalf—Interview between General Robertson, of the British army, and General Greene, of the American, concerning Major Andre—Execution of Andre—Arnold is created a brigadier-general in the British service—He issues an address to the American soldiers, and endeavours to seduce them, but fails—Great Britain declares war against the Netherlands—The British take St. Eustatia, and plunder the inhabitants.

THE successful defence of Savannah, together with the departure of Count D'Estaing, from the American coast, soon dissipated all apprehensions entertained for the safety of the city of New-York. These circumstances induced Sir Henry Clinton to renew offensive operations in the south. The suitableness of the climate for winter operations, and the weakness of the country, designated South Carolina as a proper object of enterprise. No sooner, therefore, was the departure of the French fleet known, than Sir Henry committed the command of the royal army in New-York, to Lieutenant-general Knyp-

hausen, and embarked for the southward, with four flank battalions, twelve regiments, and a corps of British, provincial and Hessian cavalry, and a detachment of artillery, together with ample supplies of military stores of provisions. Vice-admiral Arbuthnot, with a large naval force, undertook to convey the troops to the place of their destination. The whole sailed from New-York on the twenty-sixth of December, 1779. After a tedious and dangerous passage, in which part of their ordinance, most of their artillery, and all their cavalry horses, were lost, the fleet arrived at Tybee, in Georgia, on the twenty-first of January, 1780. In a few days, the transports, with the army on board, sailed from Savannah for North Edisto, and after a short passage, the troops made good their landing, about thirty miles from Charleston, and took possession of John's Island, and Stono Ferry, and soon after of James' Island and Wappoo Cut. A bridge was thrown over the canal, and part of the royal army took post on the banks of Ashley River, opposite to Charleston. Governor Rutledge immediately ordered the militia to assemble, but very few obeyed.

The tedious passage of the royal army from New-York to Tybee, had given the Americans time to fortify Charleston. This, together with losses which they had sustained in their passage, induced Sir Henry Clinton to send to New-York for reinforcements of men and stores. He also ordered General Provost to send him twelve hundred men from the garrison of Savannah. General Patterson, with these, soon after joined him. The royal forces proceeded to the siege on the twenty-ninth of March. At Wappoo, on James' Island, they formed a depot and erected fortifications, both on that island and on the main, opposite to the southern and western extremeties of Charleston. An advanced party crossed Ashley River, and soon after broke ground at the distance of eleven hundred yards from the American works. At successive periods they erected five batteries on the Neck. The garrison was equally assiduous in preparing for its defence. The works which had previously been thrown up, were strengthened and extended. Works were raised on all sides of the town, where a landing was

practicable. Though the lines were no more than field works, Sir Henry Clinton treated them with the homage of three parallels. From the third to the tenth of April, the first parallel was completed, and immediately after the town was summoned to surrender. On the twelfth, the batteries were opened, and from that day, an almost incessant fire was kept up. About the time the batteries were opened, a work was thrown up near Wando River, nine miles from the town, and another at Lempriere's Point, to preserve the communication with the country by water. A post was also ordered at a ferry over the Santee, to favour the coming in of reinforcements, or the retreat of the garrison. The British marine force, consisting of several ships of war, crossed the bar and anchored. The first object of Commodore Whipple, the commander of the American force, was to fall back with his vessels to Fort Moultrie. This he was compelled to do, from the great disparity of his ships. The crews and guns of all his vessels, except one, were put on shore. This was about the twenty-first of March.

Admiral Arburthnot, on the ninth of April, with a strong southerly wind and tide, passed Fort Moultrie, and anchored near Fort Johnson. The batteries of the besiegers soon obtained a superiority over those of the besieged. The former had twenty-one mortars, and the latter only two. The regular force in the garrison was much inferior to that of the besiegers, and but few of the militia could be persuaded to leave their plantations and reinforce their brethern in the capitol. A camp had been formed at Monk's Corner, to keep up the communication between the town and country, and the militia without the lines, rendezvoued there, but they were surprised and routed by Colonel Tarelton. About the twentieth of April, Sir Henry Clinton received a reinforcement of three thousand men from New-York. A council of war, held by General Lincoln, advised, that offers of capitulation, before their affairs became more critical, should be made to Sir Henry Clinton, which might admit of the army's withdrawing. These terms being proposed, were instantly rejected, but the garrison, under an expectation that succors would arrive, continued to hold out.

The British soon completed the investiture of the town both by land and water.

Thus, while every thing prospered with the British, Sir Henry Clinton began a correspondence with General Lincoln, and renewed his former offers to the garrison, in case of their surrender. Lincoln was disposed to close with them as far as they respected his army, but some demur was made with a view of gaining better terms for the citizens, which it was hoped might be obtained on a conference. This was asked, but Clinton, instead of granting it, answered that hostilities should recommence. The British batteries threw shells and carcasses into almost every part of the town, and several houses were burnt. The enemy's works were soon advanced within one hundred yards of those of the garrison, and every thing was in readiness for making a general assault by land and water. All expectation of succor was at an end; the only hope left was, that nine thousand men, the flower of the British army, seconded by a naval force, might fail in storming lines, defended by three thousand men. Under these circumstances the siege was protracted to the eleventh of May. On that day a great number of the citizens addressed General Lincoln in a petition, expressing their acquiescence in the terms which Sir Henry Clinton had offered, and requesting his acceptance of them. On the reception of this petition, General Lincoln wrote to Sir Henry Clinton, and offered to accept the terms before proposed, which being acceded to, a capitulation was signed, and Major-general Leslie took possession of the town the next day. During the siege, the British had seventy-six killed and one hundred and eighty-nine wounded; and the Americans eighty-nine killed and one hundred and forty wounded. By the articles of capitulation the garrison was to march out of the town, and deposite their arms in front of the works, but the drums were not to beat a British march, nor were the colours to be uncased. The continentals and seamen were to remain prisoners of war till exchanged, and the militia were to be permitted to return home as prisoners on parole.

The numbers which surrendered prisoners of war, inclusive

of the militia, and every adult male inhabitant, was about five thousand, but the proper garrison did not exceed two thousand five hundred men.

This was the first instance in which the Americans had attempted to defend a town. The unsuccessful event demonstrated the policy of sacrificing the towns of the Union in preference to endangering the whole by risking too much for their defence.

Shortly after the surrender, Sir Henry Clinton adopted sundry measures to induce the inhabitants to return to their allegiance, but without effect.

The capital having surrendered, the next object of the British was to secure the submission of the whole body of the people. To this end they posted garrisons in different parts of the country to awe the inhabitants. They also marched with upwards of two thousand men, towards North Carolina. This caused an immediate retreat of some parties of Americans who had advanced into the northern extremity of South Carolina, with the expectation of relieving Charleston. One of these, consisting of three hundred continentals, commanded by Colonel Buford, was overtaken at Waxhaws by Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, and completely defeated. Five out of six of the whole were either killed, or so badly wounded, as to be incapable of being moved from the field of battle; and this took place, though they made such ineffectual opposition, as only to kill twelve and wound five of the British. Tarleton's party refused quarter to the Americans, after they had laid down their arms.

Sir Henry Clinton, having left about four thousand men for the southern service, embarked early in June with the main army for New-York. On his departure, the command devolved on Lord Cornwallis. The season of the year, the condition of the army, and the unsettled state of South Carolina, impeded the immediate invasion of North Carolina. Lord Cornwallis dispatched instructions to the principal loyalists in that state to attend to the harvest, prepare provisions, and remain till the first of September. His lordship committed the care of the frontier to Lord Rawdon, and repaired to Charleston. In the mean time, the people in the country abandoned farther resist-

ance. At Beaufort, Camden, and Ninety-Six, they generally laid down their arms, and submitted as prisoners or subjects. In a short time the greater part of the state made its submission. This was followed by a calm, and the British believed that the state was conquered. There was now no regular force to the southward of Pennsylvania, which was sufficient to awe the friends of the royal government. Encouragement was held forth to those who would with arms support the old constitution, and confiscation and death were threatened as the consequence of resisting it.

The precautions taken to prevent the rising of the royalists in North Carolina, did not answer the end. Several of the inhabitants of Tryon county, under the direction of Colonel Moore, took up arms, but in a few days were defeated by the militia, commanded by General Rutherford. Colonel Bryan, another loyalist, was successful, and reached the seventy-first regiment, stationed in the Cheraws, with eight hundred men.

While the British were endeavouring to strengthen the party for the royal government, the Americans were not inattentive. Governor Rutledge, who had left Charleston before the siege was commenced, was industriously engaged in collecting forces to oppose the progress of the enemy. Congress also ordered a considerable detachment from their main army to be marched to the southward: North Carolina likewise ordered a large body of militia to take the field. As the royal forces advanced to the upper country of South Carolina, a number of whigs, under Colonel Sumpter, retired to North Carolina. At the head of these, he soon returned to his own state and took the field. This unexpected opposition to the extension of British conquests, roused all the passions which disappointment could inspire.

The first effort of renewed warfare was two months after the fall of Charleston, when one hundred and thirty-three of Colonel Sumpter's corps attacked and routed a detachment of the royal forces and militia, at Williamson's plantation. This was the first advantage gained over the British since their landing in the state. The people living in the northwestern frontier of

South Carolina turned out, and joined Sumpter, though opposition to the British government had entirely ceased in every other part of the state. His troops in a few days amounted to six hundred men. With these he made an attack on a party of British at Rocky Mount, but owing to the strength of their position was obliged to retreat. Soon afterwards he attacked the Prince of Wales' regiment, and a body of tories, at the Hanging Rock, and gained a complete victory. The Prince of Wales' regiment was reduced from two hundred and seventy-eight to nine men. The loyalists under Colonel Bryan were dispersed The panic occasioned by the fall of Charleston daily abated. The militia on the extremities of the state formed themselves into parties, under leaders of their own choice. While Sumpter kept up the spirits of the people by a succession of gallant enterprises, a respectable continental force was advancing from the north, for the relief of the southern states. This force was at first under the command of Major-general Baron de Kalb, and afterwards of General Gates. The success of the latter in the northern campaign of 1777, induced many to believe that his presence, as commander of the southern army, would reanimate the friends of independence. While Baron de Kalb commanded, a council of war had advised him to file off from the direct road to Camden, towards the settlements in the vicinity of the Waxhaws: but General Gates on assuming the command did not conceive this movement to be necessary, supposing it to be most for the interest of the states that he should proceed immediately with his army on the shortest road, to the neighbourhood of the British encampments. This led through a barren country, in passing over which the Americans severely felt the scarcity of provisions. Their murmurs became audible, and there were strong appearances of mutiny, but the officers conciliated them to a patient sufferance of their hard lot. The troops principally subsisted on lean cattle picked up in the woods, and green corn and peaches: dysenteries became common in consequence of their food. The heat of the season, the unhealthiness of the climate, together with insufficient and unwholesome food, menaced the destruction

of the army. At length the Americans approached near to Camden. The next day, it being the 14th of August, General Stephens arrived with a numerous body of Virginia militia.

As the American army approached, Lord Rawdon concentrated his forces at Camden. The retreat of the British from their outposts, and the advances of the American army, induced the inhabitants to revolt. The army of General Gates amounted to four thousand men, but of this only about one thousand were continentals. On the approach of Gates, Lord Cornwallis hastened from Charleston to Camden, and arrived there on the fourteenth. The force which his lordship found collected there was seventeen hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry. This inferior number would have justified a retreat, but he chose rather to stake his fortune on the decision of a battle. On the night of the fifteenth of August, he marched from Camden with his whole force, intending to attack the Americans in their camp at Clermont. In the same night, General Gates, after ordering his baggage to the Waxhaws, put his army in motion, with an intention of advancing to an eligible position about eight miles from Camden. The American army was ordered to march at ten o'clock at night in the following order: Colonel Armand's advance cavalry; Colonel Porterfield's infantry, on the right flank of Colonel Armand's, in Indian file, two hundred yards from the road; Major Armstrong's infantry, in the same order as Porterfield's, on the left flank of the advanced guard of foot, composed of the advanced pickets, first brigade of Maryland, second brigade of Maryland; division of North Carolina, Virginia rear-guard, volunteer cavalry, upon the flanks of the baggage, were equally divided. The light infantry upon each flank were ordered to march up and support the cavalry, if it should be attacked by the British cavalry, and Colonel Armand was directed in that case to stand the attack at all events.

The advance of both armies met in the night and engaged. Some of the cavalry of Armand, being wounded in the first fire, fell back on others, who recoiled so suddenly, that the first Maryland regiment was broken, and the whole line of the army was thrown into confusion. This first impression struck deep,

and dispirited the militia. The American army, however, soon recovered its order, and both they and their adversaries kept their ground, and occasionally skirmished through the night. In the morning a general engagement took place. At the first onset, the great body of the Virginia militia, who formed the left wing of the army, on being charged with fixed bayonets by the British infantry, threw down their arms, and with the utmost precipitation fled from the field. A considerable part of the North Carolina militia followed this unworthy example, but the continentals, who formed the right wing of the army, stood their ground and maintained the conflict against superior numbers with great resolution. Never did soldiers acquit themselves better; for some time they had the advantage of their opponents; overpowered at last by numbers, and nearly surrounded by the enemy, they were compelled reluctantly to leave the ground. Part of a brigade of North Carolina militia, commanded by General Gregory, acquitted themselves well, and did not retire before they had expended all their ammunition.—Two hundred and ninety American prisoners, wounded in this action, were carried into Camden. The Americans, in this disastrous battle, lost all their artillery, upwards of two hundred wagons, and the greater part of their baggage. Every corps was broken in action and dispersed. The fugitives, who fled by the common road, were pursued upwards of twenty miles, by the horse of Tarleton's legion, and the way was covered with arms, baggage and wagons. Baron de Kalb, the second in command, a brave and meritorious officer, was mortally wounded and made a prisoner.

The royal army fought with great bravery, but the completeness of their victory was in a great degree owing to the superiority of their cavalry, and the precipitate flight of the militia. Their whole loss is supposed to have amounted to several hundred men. The defeat of Gates was followed by the surprise and dispersion of Sumpter's corps.

On the seventeenth and eighteenth of August, about one hundred and fifty of Gates' army rendezvoused at Charlotte. From thence they retreated to Salisbury, and soon after to Hillsbo-

rough. A circumstantial detail of the condition of the wrecks of Gates' army, at Charlotte, presents a picture of complicated wretchedness. There were more wounded men than could be carried off. The inhabitants, hourly expecting the British to advance into their settlement, and generally intending to flee, could not, or would not, attend to the accommodation of the suffering soldiers. Objects of distress occurred in every quarter. Several soldiers were to be seen with but one arm, and some without any.

At Hillsborough, General Gates, in concert with the government of North Carolina, set about devising plans of defence, and for renewing military operations.

Though there was now no army to oppose Lord Cornwallis, yet the season and bad health of his army, restrained him from pursuing his conquests. The defeat and dispersion of the continental army had left the country mostly in his power. To prevent the future co-operation of the inhabitants with the armies of Congress, severe measures were adopted. Orders were given by Lord Cornwallis, that all the inhabitants of the province, who had submitted to his Britannic Majesty's arms, and who had taken part in the revolt, as it was called, should be punished with rigour; that they should be imprisoned, and their whole property taken from them or destroyed. He also ordered, that every militia-man who had borne arms with the British, and afterwards joined the Americans, should be put to death. At Camden, at Augusta, and elsewhere, several of the inhabitants were hanged in consequence of these orders.

Notwithstanding the superiority of the British armies, and these rigorous measures, several of the citizens of South Carolina refused to assume the character of subjects. To enforce a general submission, orders were given by Lord Cornwallis, to send out of the state a number of the principal citizens. Lieutenant-governor Gadsden, most of the civil and military officers, and some others, were taken up, put on board of a vessel, and sent to St. Augustine.

To compel the re-establishment of the royal government, Lord Cornwallis, on the sixteenth of September, issued a pro-

clamation for the sequestration of all the estates belonging to the active friends of independence.

An adherent to the cause of America was now considered as one who courted exile, poverty, and ruin. Many yielded to the temptation, and became British subjects. The mischievous effects of slavery, in facilitating the conquest of the country, now became apparent. As the slaves had no interest at stake, the subjugation of the state was a matter of no consequence to them. Instead of aiding in its defence, they, by a variety of means, threw the weight of their influence into the opposite scale.

Though numbers broke through all the ties which bound them to support the cause of America, illustrious sacrifices were made. Several of the richest men in the state suffered their fortunes to remain in the possession of their conquerors, rather than stain their honour by joining the enemies of their country. The patriotism of the ladies contributed much to this firmness; they went on board of prison ships, and to other places of confinement, to solace their countrymen. Animated by such examples, as well as by a high sense of honour and love of country, some of the gentlemen of South Carolina adhered to their first resolution of risking life and fortune in support of independence. Hitherto the royal forces in South Carolina had met with almost uninterrupted success. They overspread the country, and penetrated into every quarter.

The British ministry, by this flattering posture of their affairs, were once more buoyed up with the hope of subjugating America. New plans were formed, and expectations indulged, of speedily reuniting the different members of the empire.

The defeat of Gates, and the dispersion of his army, overspread at first the face of American affairs with gloom, but this was gradually dispelled. A few weeks after the defeat of Gates, General Marion, with a few men, left North Carolina, and returned to South Carolina, where he commenced operations against small parties of the enemy. For several weeks he had not over seventy men. Various schemes were tried by the enemy to prevent the inhabitants from co-operating with him.

Major Wemys burned many houses on Pedee River, Lynch's Creek, and Black River, belonging to such as were supposed to favour Marion. This rigorous course had an effect different from what it was intended. Despair and revenge co-operated with patriotism to make these ruined men take the field. Having no houses to shelter them, the camps of their countrymen became their homes. For several months, Marion and his party were obliged to sleep in the open air, without tents, and to shelter themselves in the recesses of swamps. From these retreats they sallied out, whenever an opportunity of harassing the enemy presented itself. Sumpter, who had been promoted to the rank of brigadier-general by Governor Rutledge, had also returned after his defeat, having previously collected a small band of men, and was busily engaged in a similar mode of warfare.

Opposition to the British government was, however, not wholly confined to the parties commanded by Sumpter and Marion. The disposition to revolt, which had been excited on the approach of General Gates, was not destroyed by his defeat. The spirit of the people, although overawed, was not subdued. The severity with which some of the revolters, who had fallen into the hands of the enemy, were treated, induced those who escaped to persevere, and seek safety in swamps.

From the time of the general submission of the inhabitants, the British endeavoured to form a royal militia. Major Ferguson, of the seventy-first regiment, was particularly active in this business. He visited the settlements of the disaffected, and collected a corps of militia, from which much was expected. With these he advanced to the northwestern districts, to hold communication with the loyalists of both Carolinas.

That spirit of martial enterprise, which had begun to show itself among some of the American militia in the southern states, about this time, prompted Colonel Clark to make an attempt on the British post at Augusta, in Georgia, but in this he failed. Major Ferguson, with the hope of intercepting his party, kept near the mountains, and at a distance from support. This circumstance, together with the depredations of the loyalists,

induced those inhabitants, who dwelt on the west side of the Alleghany mountains, to form an enterprise against that distinguished partisan. Colonels Campbell, Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier, Macdowel, Lacy, Hawthorn, and Hill rendezvoused, with sixteen hundred men. Out of these they selected about one thousand of their best men, and mounted them on their fleetest horses, and set out by forced marches. These, coming up with Ferguson on the top of King's mountain, near the confines of North and South Carolina, attacked him with vigour. Ferguson, with great boldness, resisted the assailants, and with fixed bayonets, compelled them to retire; but they only fell back a short way, and then, getting behind trees and rocks, renewed the contest. The loyalists, being uncovered, were aimed at by the American marksmen, and many of them were slain. After a severe conflict, in which their commander was mortally wounded, they surrendered, to the number of eight hundred. Two hundred and twenty-five were killed or wounded. In this action very few of the Americans fell, but among these was Colonel Williams. Ten of the royalists, who had surrendered, were hanged. The fall of Ferguson was in itself a great loss to the royal cause. He possessed superior abilities as a partisan, and his spirit of enterprise was uncommon. The unexpected advantage which the Americans gained over him and his party, in a great degree, frustrated a well concerted scheme for strengthening the British army, by the co-operation of the loyal inhabitants, whom he had undertaken to discipline and prepare for service. The route of the party under Ferguson operated as a check on the future exertions of those who were disposed to aid the royal cause.

In a few weeks after the defeat of Gates, Lord Cornwallis left a small force at Camden, and marched with the main army towards Salisbury. While on his way thither, the North Carolina militia was successful in annoying his detachments. The defeat of Major Ferguson, added to these circumstances, induced Cornwallis soon after to retreat to Winnsborough. As he retired, the militia took several of his wagons, and killed some of his men. The panic occasioned by the disaster of Gates had

in a measure abated. The defeat of Ferguson, and the retreat of Cornwallis, encouraged the militia to take the field. General Sumpter, having mounted his followers, made frequent attacks on British parties, beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys, and straitened the operations of the army. Lord Cornwallis laid several plans for destroying his force, but they all failed. He was attacked at Broad River, by Major Wemys, with a corps of infantry and horse. In this action the British were defeated, and their commander made a prisoner. This was on the twelfth of November. On the twentieth he was attacked at Black Stocks, near Tyger River, by Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with one hundred and seventy cavalry and eighty infantry. Tarleton charged with his dragoons, but was compelled to retreat, with the loss of many of his men.

For the three months which followed the defeat of the American army near Camden, General Gates was preparing to take the field. Having collected a force at Hillsborough, he advanced to Salisbury, and soon after to Charlotte, where he was superceded by General Greene. Nothing worthy of being particularly mentioned happened in the south, during the residue of the campaign. Though the British had in general been successful, yet they had derived no solid advantages.

While the war raged in South Carolina, the campaign of 1780, in the northern and middle states, was languid. At the close of the year 1779, the grand American army encamped at Morristown, in the State of New-Jersey, where they built huts for their accommodation. This position being only twenty miles from the city of New-York, was well calculated to cover the country from the excursions of the British troops.

In January 1780, Lord Stirling made an ineffectual attempt to surprise a party of the British on Staten Island. While he was on the island, several persons from the New-Jersey side, passed over and plundered a number of persons, who submitted to the British. In these times, licentious persons fixed themselves near the lines, which divided the British from the Americans, and when ever opportunities offered, they were in the habit of going within the settlements of the opposite party, and committing depredations.

In the winter of 1780, while the royal army was weakened by the expedition against Charleston, the British were apprehensive for their safety in New-York. The weather became so excessively severe, that the Hudson, East River, New-York Bay, the Kills and Narrows, were covered with thick ice, which remained fixed for about forty days.

During this time, the heaviest loads were drawn over the ice, as though it had been a bridge. The British, availing themselves of the facilities it offered, transported cannon, and other munitions of war, to Staten Island. General Knyphausen, who then commanded at New-York, fearing that Washington would avail himself of the opportunity of crossing the ice and attacking the city, embodied considerable numbers of the able bodied citizens, and compelled them to do military duties for its defence. But the weakness of the American army, and the strength of the British force at the latter place, induced Washington to put nothing at hazard, but to remain where he was, and to preserve his army.

In June, General Knyphausen made an incursion into New-Jersey, with five thousand men. He landed at Elizabethtown, and proceeded to Connecticut Farms. While on his way, a skirmish ensued between some of his men and some Americans, in which a ball passed through the window of the house of the Reverend James Caldwell, and killed his wife. The British burnt the meeting-house, and twelve other buildings, at this place, and then continued their march to Springfield. As they advanced, they were annoyed by Colonel Dayton with a few militia. On their approach to the bridge near the town, they were farther opposed by General Wayne, who was prepared with some continentals to dispute its passage. But they made a halt, and shortly after returned to Elizabethtown. Before they had retreated, Washington, with the whole army, had set out from Morristown to oppose them. While Knyphausen was in New-Jersey, Sir Henry Clinton returned from Charleston to New-York, with part of his forces.

He immediately sent a reinforcement to Knyphausen, when that general advanced a second time towards Springfield. General Greene now opposed him with a considerable body of

continentals. Colonel Angel, with his regiment, was posted to secure the bridge in front of the town. A severe action ensued, which lasted forty minutes, but the Americans, owing to the superior numbers of the enemy, were forced to fall back a little distance. General Greene then took post on a range of hills in hopes of being attacked. But instead of this, the British burnt the town, containing nearly fifty houses. After this, they retired, but were followed by the militia as far as Elizabethtown. The next day they left that place, and returned to New-York. The loss of the Americans, in the action at Springfield, was about eighty men, and that of the enemy, somewhat more. By such desultory operations were hostilities carried on in the northern states. The American refugees, within the British lines, had by this time reduced predatory warfare into a system. They had a small fleet of privateers at New-York, by the aid of which they committed many depradations. They embraced every opportunity which offered to gratify their avarice and revenge. Their predatory excursions were often lucrative to themselves and detrimental to the Americans, especially to the people of New-Jersey, New-York and Connecticut, who lived adjacent to the city of New-York, and the navigable waters, communicating and leading from the latter city. The facility of transportation, and their knowledge of the country, enabled them to make sudden descents, and successful expeditions. In these expeditions, the feelings of humanity were usually suspended, and full rein was given to plunder and revenge.

The distress which the Americans suffered from the diminished value of the paper currency, though felt in the year 1778, and still more so in 1779, did not arrive to its highest pitch till the year 1780. Under the pressure of sufferings from this cause, the officers of the New-Jersey line, addressed a memorial to their state legislature, setting forth the pecuniary embarrassments under which they laboured. They urged, that unless a speedy remedy was provided, the total dissolution of their line was inevitable. In addition to the insufficiency of their pay and support, other causes of discontent prevailed. The original idea of a continental army to be raised, paid, subsisted and

regulated upon an equal and uniform principle, had been in a great measure exchanged for state establishments. Congress not possessing the means of supporting the army, devolved the business on the different states. Some states, from their ability, furnished their troops not only with clothing, but with conveniences. Others supplied them with some necessities, but on a contracted scale. A few, from their particular situation, could do little or nothing. The officers and men mixed daily, and compared circumstances. Those who fared worse than others, were dissatisfied with a service which made such distinctions. From causes of this kind, and a complication of wants and sufferings, a disposition to mutiny began to show itself in the army. This broke forth into full action among the soldiers stationed at Fort Schuyler, on the Mohawk. Thirty-one of the men of that garrison went of in a body. Being pursued, sixteen were overtaken, and thirteen of them were instantly killed. About the same time, two regiments of the Connecticut troops mutinied and got under arms. They determined to return home, or to gain subsistence at the point of the bayonet. Their officers reasoned with them, and after much expostulation they were prevailed upon to return to their huts. It is remarkable that this mutinous disposition of the Connecticut troops was, in a measure, quelled by the Pennsylvania line, which, in a few months, planned and executed a much more serious one. While the army was in this state of discontent from their distresses, a printed paper, addressed to the soldiers of the army, was circulated in the camp. This was in the following words:

"The time is at length arrived, when all the artifices and falsehoods of the Congress, and of your commanders, can no longer conceal from you the miseries of your situation. You are neither fed, clothed, nor paid. Your numbers are wasting away by sickness, famine and nakedness, and rapidly so, by the period of your stipulated time being expired. This is now the period to fly from slavery and fraud.

"I am happy in acquainting my old countrymen, that the affairs of Ireland are fully settled, and that Great Britain and Ireland are united as well from interest as affection. I need

not tell you, who are born in America, that you have been cheated and abused. You are both sensible, that in order to procure your liberty, you must quit your leaders and join your real friends, who scorn to impose upon you, and who will receive you with open arms, kindly forgiving all your errors. You are told you are surrounded by a numerous militia. This is also false. Associate then together, make use of your firelocks, and join the British army, where you will be permitted to dispose of yourselves as you please."

But such was the firmness of the soldiery, and so strong was their attachment to the cause of their country, that though danger impelled, want urged, and British favour invited them to change sides, yet on the arrival of but a scanty supply of meat, for their immediate subsistence, military duty was cheerfully performed.

So great were the necessities of the army, that Washington was obliged to call on the magistrates of the adjacent counties, for specified quantities of provisions, to be supplied in a given number of days. At other times he was compelled to send out detachments of troops to take provisions. This expedient at length failed, for the country in the vicinity afforded no further supplies. These impressments tended to alienate the affections of the people. Washington, whom the inhabitants hitherto had regarded as their protector, had now no alternative but to disband his army or to support it by force. The army looked to him for provisions, the inhabitants for protection. To supply the one and not offend the other, seemed an impossibility. To preserve order and subordination in an army, even when well fed, paid, and clothed, are works of difficulty; but to retain them in service, and restrain them with discipline, when destitute, required address and abilities of such magnitude as are rarely found in commanders.

So great a scarcity, in a country usually abounding with provisions, appears extraordinary; but various cases had concurred to produce a deficiency. The seasons, both in 1779 and 1780, were unfavourable to the crops. The labours of the husbandmen had been frequently interrupted by the calls

for milita duty. The depreciation of the paper currency induced many to hold back supplies.

In addition to the disasters from short crops, and depreciating money, disorder and confusion pervaded the departments for supplying the army. Systems for these purposes had been hastily adopted, and were very inadequate to the end proposed. Abuses crept in, frauds were practised, and economy was exiled.

To obviate these evils, Congress sent a committee from their own body, consisting of Messrs. Schuyler, Peabody and Mathews, to the camp of the main army, to make enquiries, reform abuses, alter preceding systems, and establish new ones. These gentlemen proceeded to the camp in May 1780, and thence wrote letters to Congress and the states. They stated that the army was unpaid for five months. That it seldom had more than six days provision in advance, and had, on several occasions, for sundry days, been without meat: that the army was destitute of forage: that the medical department had neither sugar, coffee, tea, chocolate, wine, nor spiritous liquors of any kind: that every department of the army was without money, and had not even the shadow of credit left. That the patience of the soldiers, born down by the pressure of complicated sufferings, was on the point of being exhausted.

A tide of misfortunes from all quarters was at this time pouring in upon the United States. There appeared not, however, in their public bodies, the smallest disposition to purchase safety by concessions of any sort. They seemed to rise in the midst of their distresses, and to gain strength from the pressure of calamities. When Congress could neither command money nor credit for the subsistence of the army, the citizens of Philadelphia formed an association to procure a supply of necessary articles for their suffering soldiers. The sum of three hundred thousand dollars was subscribed, and converted into a bank, to purchase provisions for the troops. The advantages of this institution were great. The loss of Charleston, and the victories of the British in South Carolina, produced effects the reverse of what were expected. The flame which had blazed

forth in the beginning of the war was rekindled. A willingness to do and to suffer was revived in the breasts of many. These dispositions were invigorated by private assurances, that the French would, in the course of the campaign, send a powerful armament to their aid.

The powers of the committee of Congress in the camp were enlarged. They wrote sundry letters to the states, stimulating them to exertions. It was agreed to make arrangements for bringing into the field thirty-five thousand men, and to call on the states for specific supplies of every thing necessary for their support. To obtain the men, it was proposed to complete the regular regiments by drafts from the militia, and to make up what they fell short of thirty-five thousand effectives, by calling forth more of the militia. Every motive concurred to rouse the activity of the inhabitants. The states, nearly exhausted with the war, wished for its termination. An opportunity now offered for striking a decisive blow. The only thing required, was to bring thirty-five thousand men into the field, and to make arrangements for their support. Accurate estimates were made of every article of supply for the ensuing campaign. These, and also the numbers of men wanted, were quoted on the ten northern states. In conformity to these requisitions, vigorous resolutions were adopted for carrying them into effect. Where voluntary enlistments fell short, the deficiencies were, by the laws of the several states, to be made up of drafts from the militia. The towns in New England, and the counties in the middle states, were called on.

Such was the zeal of the people in New England, that neighbours would often club together to engage one of their number to go into the army. Being without money, they paid for military duty with cattle. Twenty head were frequently given as a reward for eighteen months' service. Maryland directed her lieutenants of counties to class all the property in their respective counties into as many classes as there were men wanted, and each class was obliged, within ten days thereafter, to furnish a recruit to serve during the war. Virginia also classed her citizens, and called upon the respective classes for every fif-

teenth man. Pennsylvania authorized Joseph Reid, her president, to draw forth the resources of the state, and, if necessary, to declare martial law. The legislative part of these arrangements were speedily passed, but the execution lingered for some time.

While these preparations were making, the armament which had been promised by the king of France was on its way. The disposition to support the American revolution was not only prevalent in the court of France, but it animated the whole nation. The winds did not second the wishes of the French troops. Though they sailed from France on the first of May, they did not reach a port in the United States till the tenth of July. On that day M. de Ternay arrived at Rhode Island, with seven sail of the line and five frigates, besides smaller armed vessels and transports, having on board six thousand troops, under the Count de Rochambeau. In a few days after their arrival, an address of congratulation from the assembly of Rhode Island was presented to Count Rochambeau. In his answer, the Count declared that he only brought over the vanguard of a much greater force, which was destined for their aid; that he was ordered by the King to assure them, that his whole power should be exerted for their support.

Admiral Arbuthnot had only four sail of the line at New-York, when M. de Ternay arrived at Rhode Island. This inferiority was in three days reversed, by the arrival of Admiral Greaves, with six sail of the line. The British admiral, now having a superiority, proceeded to Rhode Island, but he soon discovered that the French were secure from attack. Sir Henry Clinton embarked about eight thousand men, and proceeded as far as Huntingdon Bay, on Long Island, with the design of concurring with the fleet in attacking the French. When this movement took place, Washington set his army in motion, and marched to Peekskill, in order to attack New-York in Clinton's absence. The latter, however, on being apprised of this movement, returned.

In the mean time the French fleet and army being blocked up at Rhode Island, were incapacitated from co-operating with the Americans.

The state of New-York continued to suffer from the depredations of the tories and Indians. These, in the month of August, burst into the Mohawk and Schoharie countries, and burnt many houses and barns, destroyed much private property, and killed numbers of the inhabitants. In the towns of Canajoharie and Schoharie alone, eighty houses and seventy barns were devoted to the flames. A party of the same incendiaries went from Schoharie to Norman's Kill, in the county of Albany, and burnt twenty houses.

In the month of October of the same year, they made a second irruption into these countries, and laid them entirely waste. They killed a number of the settlers, and made many prisoners, whom they carried into Canada. Between Stone Arabia Church and Palatine Bridge they defeated a detachment of continentals, consisting of nearly three hundred men. In this action Major Brown, the commander, and about forty soldiers, fell. While ravaging the parts contiguous to the village of Johnstown, Colonel Willet attacked them with great spirit, and compelled them to withdraw, but he was unable to push his advantage, owing to their superior numbers. In this inroad the enemy fired not only houses, barns, and mills, but grain in the stack. The commanders were Sir John Johnson and Colonel Brandt. The former was the son of Sir William Johnson, who had so greatly distinguished himself in the conquest of Canada. The wanton destruction of private property, and the murder of individuals, without any justifiable cause, in these inroads, made in his native country, have very justly brought great odium on the character of Sir John Johnson. The inhabitants, in their persons and property, were entitled to that treatment and respect which the usages of modern warfare prescribe.

The American government, by its agent, General Schuyler, had respected the person and property of Sir John Johnson in 1776, and this at a time when he was plotting machinations for its destruction. It had set him at liberty, after he had stipulated to take no part in the existing contest. This alone ought to have induced a different course of conduct on his part.

The campaign, in the northern states, passed away, in a mea-

sure, in disappointments and distresses. The country was exhausted. The army, for want of subsistence, kept inactive and brooding over its calamities. While the disasters were menacing the ruin of the American cause, treachery was silently undermining it. That distinguished officer, General Arnold, engaged, for a stipulated sum of money, to betray into the hands of the British, an important post committed to his care. He had been among the first to take up arms against Great Britain. His distinguished military talents had procured him every honour a grateful country could bestow. He possessed an elevated seat in the hearts of his countrymen, and was in the full enjoyment of fame. His country had loaded him with honours. Though in his accounts against the states, there was much room to suspect fraud, yet the recollection of his gallantry and good conduct, in a great measure, served to cover the whole. He, who had been prodigal of life in his country's cause, was indulged in extraordinary demands for his services. The generosity of the states did not keep pace with his extravagance. A sumptuous table and expensive equipage, unsupported by the resources of private fortune, unguarded by economy and good management, soon increased his debts beyond a possibility of his discharging them. His love of pleasure produced the love of money, and that, as is but too often the case with men, extinguished all sensibility to the obligations of honour and duty. The calls of luxury were various and pressing, and demanded gratification, though at the expense of fame and country. Contracts were made, speculations were entered into, and partnerships instituted, which could not bear investigation. Oppression, extortion, misapplication of public money and property, furnished him with the further means of gratifying his passions. In these circumstances, a change of sides afforded the only hope of evading a scrutiny, and at the same time held out a prospect of replenishing his exhausted coffers. The disposition of the American forces, in the year 1780, afforded an opportunity of accomplishing this, so much to the advantage of the British, that they could well afford a liberal reward for the beneficial treachery. The American army was stationed in the

strong holds of the Highlands on the river Hudson In this arrangement, Arnold solicited for the command of West Point. This fort was built after the loss of Forts Montgomery and Clinton, on that river, for the defence of the same, and was deemed the most proper for commanding its navigation. Though some, even then, entertained doubts of Arnold's fidelity, yet Washington, in the unsuspecting spirit of a soldier, believing it to be impossible that honour should be wanting in a breast which he knew was the seat of so much valour, cheerfully granted the request, and intrusted him with the important post. General Arnold, thus invested with command, carried on a negotiation with Sir Henry Clinton, by which it was agreed that the former should make a disposition of his forces, which would enable the latter to surprise West Point, under such circumstances, that he would have the garrison so completely in his power, that the troops must either lay down their arms, or be cut to pieces. The object of this negotiation was the strongest post of the Americans, the thoroughfare of communication, at that time, between the eastern and middle states, and was the most important depot belonging to the United States.

The agent employed in this negotiation, on the part of Sir Henry Clinton, was Major Andre, adjutant-general of the British army, a young officer of great hopes. Nature had bestowed on him an elegant taste for literature and the arts, which, by cultivation, he had greatly improved. He possessed amiable qualities and great accomplishments. His fidelity to his master, together with his place and character, eminently fitted him for his business—but his high ideas of candour, and his abhorrence of duplicity, made him inexpert in practising those arts of deception which it required. To favour the necessary communications, the Vulture sloop of war had been previously stationed in the Hudson, as near to Arnold's posts as practicable, without exciting suspicion. Before this, a written correspondence between Arnold and Andre, had been for some time carried on, under the ficticious names of Gustavus and Anderson. A boat was sent at night from the shore to fetch Major Andre. On his return, Arnold met him at the beach, without the posts

of either army. Their business was not finished till it was too near the dawn of day for Andre to return to the Vulture. Arnold told him he must be concealed till the next night. For that purpose he was conducted within one of the American posts, against his previous stipulation and knowledged, and continued with Arnold the following day. The boatmen refused to carry him back the next day, as the Vulture, from being exposed to the fire of some cannon, had changed her position. Andre's return to New-York, by land, was then the only practicable mode of escape. To favour this he quitted his uniform, which he had hitherto worn under a surtout, for a common coat, and was furnished with a horse, and under the name of John Anderson, with a passport to go to the White Plains, or lower if he thought proper, he being on public business. He advanced alone and undisturbed a great part of the way. When he thought himself almost out of danger, he was stopped by three of the New-York militia, who were scouting between the posts of the two armies. Major Andre, instead of producing his pass, asked the man who stopped him, "where he belonged to," who answered "to below," meaning New-York. He replied, "so do I," and declared himself a British officer, and pressed that he might not be detained. He soon discovered his mistake. His captors proceeded to search him—sundry papers were found in his possession. These were secreted in his boots, and were in Arnold's handwriting; they contained exact returns of the state of the forces, ordinance and defences at West Point, with the artillery orders, critical remarks on the works, &c.

Andre offered his captors a purse of gold, and a new valuable watch, if they would let him pass, and permanent provision, and future promotion, if they would convey and accompany him to New-York. They nobly rejected the proffered bribe, and delivered him a prisoner to Lieutenant-colonel Jameson, the commandant of the scouting parties. The captors of Andre were John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wert. Congress resolved, that each of them should receive annually, during life, two hundred dollars. Andre, when delivered to Colonel Jameson, continued to call himself by the

name of Anderson, and asked leave to send a letter to General Arnold to acquaint him of Anderson's detention. This was inconsiderately granted. General Arnold, on the receipt of this letter, abandoned every thing, and went on board the Vulture sloop of war. Colonel Jameson forwarded to Washington all the papers found on Andre, together with a letter, giving an account of the affair; but the express, by taking a different route from that of the General, who was returning from a conference at Hartford, in the state of Connecticut, with Count de Rochambeau, missed him. This caused such a delay as gave Arnold time to effect his escape. The same packet which detailed the particulars of Andre's capture, brought a letter from him, in which he avowed his name and character, and endeavoured to show that he had not come under the description of a *spy*.

Washington referred the whole case of Major Andre to the examination and decision of a board, consisting of fourteen general officers. On his examination he voluntarily confessed every thing that related to himself, and that he did not come on shore under the protection of a flag. The board did not examine a witness, but founded their report on his own confession. In this they stated the following facts:—" That Major Andre came on shore on the night of the twenty-first of September, in a private and secret manner, and that he changed his dress within the American lines, and under a feigned name, and disguised habit, passed their works, and was taken in a disguised habit, when on his way to New-York; and when taken several papers were found in his possession, which contained intelligence for the enemy." From these facts they farther reported it as their opinion, " That Major Andre ought to be considered as a *spy*, and that agreeably to the laws and usages of nations, he ought to suffer *death*."

Sir Henry Clinton, General Robertson, and General Arnold wrote pressing letters to Washington, to prevent the decision of the board from being carried into effect. Arnold, in particular, urged that every thing done by Major Andre was done by his particular request, and at a time when he was the commanding

officer in the department. He contended that he had a right to transact all these matters, for which, though wrong, Major Andre ought not to suffer. An interview also took place between General Robertson, on the part of the British, and General Greene on the part of the Americans.

Every thing was urged by the former that ingenuity or humanity could suggest, for averting the proposed execution. Greene made a proposition for delivering up Andre for Arnold, but found this could not be acceded to by the British, without offending against every principle of policy. Robertson urged "that Andre went on shore under the sanction of a flag, and that being then in Arnold's power, he was not accountable for his subsequent actions which were said to be compulsory. To this it was replied, that he was employed in the execution of measures very foreign from the objects of flags of truce, and such as they were never meant to authorize; and that Major Andre, in the course of his examination, had confessed that it was impossible for him to suppose that he came on shore under the sanction of a flag. Robertson proposed, that since they differed so widely, the opinions of Knyphausen and Rochambeau might be taken. He offered, that in case Andre was permitted to return with him to New-York, any person whatever, that might be named, should be set at liberty. All these arguments and entreaties having failed, Robertson presented a letter from Arnold, in which he exculpated Andre, by acknowledging himself the author of every part of his conduct, and insisted on his coming from the Vulture, under a flag which he had sent for that purpose. He declared, that if Andre should be executed he should think himself bound to retaliate. He entreated Washington, by his own honour, and for that of humanity, not to suffer an unjust sentence to touch the life of Andre, but if that warning should be disregarded, and Andre suffer, he called Heaven and earth to witness, that he alone would be justly answerable for the torrents of blood that might be spilt in consequence."

Every exertion was made by Sir Henry Clinton, but without effect. Andre, though superior to the terrors of death, wished

to die like a soldier. To obtain this favour, he wrote a letter to Washington, fraught with sentiments of military dignity. From an adherence to the usages of war, it was not thought proper to grant this request. The guard marched him to the place of execution. The way was crowded with spectators.—Their sensibility was strongly impressed by beholding a youth, of an engaging person, mien and aspect, devoted to execution. Major Andre walked with firmness, composure and dignity, between two officers. Upon seeing the preparations at the fatal spot, he asked, with some degree of concern, "must I die in this manner?" He was told it was unavoidable. He replied, "I am reconciled to my fate, but not to the mode;" but soon subjoined, "it will be but a momentary pang." He ascended the car with composure. He was asked when the fatal moment was at hand, if he had any thing to say—he answered nothing, but to request, "that you will witness to the world that I die like a brave man."—The succeeding moment closed the scene.

This execution was the subject of severe censure. Barbarity, cruelty and murder were plentifully charged on the Americans, but the impartial, of all nations allowed, that it was warranted by the usages of war. It cannot be condemned without condemning the maxims of self-preservation, which have uniformly guided the practice of hostile nations. The finer feelings of humanity would have been gratified by dispensing with the rigid maxims of war, but these feelings must be controlled by a regard for the public safety.

This grand project terminated with no other alternative, in respect to the British, than that of their exchanging one of their best officers, for the worst man in the American army. Arnold was immediately made a brigadier-general in the British service. The failure of the scheme respecting West Point, made it necessary for him to dispel the cloud which overshadowed his character, by the performance of some signal service for his new master. The condition of the American army afforded him a prospect of doing something. He flattered himself, that by the allurements of pay and promotion, he should be able to raise a numerous force from the distressed American soldiery.

He, therefore, took methods for accomplishing this purpose. His first public measure was, issuing an address to the inhabitants of America, dated October fifth, and five days after Andre's execution. In this he endeavoured to justify himself for deserting their cause. He said, "that when he first engaged in it, he conceived the rights of his country to be in danger, and that duty and honour called him to her defence. A redress of grievances was his only aim. He acquiesced in the declaration of independence, although he thought it precipitate. But the reasons that then were offered to justify that measure, no longer could exist, when Great Britain, with the open arms of a parent, offered to embrace them as children, and to grant the wished for redress. From the refusal of these proposals, and the ratification of the French alliance, all his ideas of the justice and policy of the war, were totally changed, and from that time, he had become a professed loyalist. He acknowledged, that "in these principles, he had only retained his arms and command for an opportunity to surrender them to Great Britain." This address was soon followed by another, inscribed to the officers and soldiers of the American army. He informed them, that he was authorized to raise a corps of cavalry and infantry, who were to be on the same footing with the other troops in the British service. To allure the private men, three guineas were offered to each, besides payment for their horses and arms. Rank in the British army was also held out to the American officers, who would recruit, and bring in a certain number of men. But this address did not produce the intended effect.

That spark, which was kindled at Boston, expanded itself, till various nations were involved in its spreading flames.—France had been drawn in, in the year 1778, Spain in 1779, and the Netherlands this year. From the year 1777, the British minister at the court of the Netherlands, had made sundry representations to their High Mightinesses of the clandestine commerce carried on between their subjects and the Americans. He particularly stated that the governor of St. Eustatia had permitted an illicit commerce with the Americans; and had, at

one time, returned the salute of a vessel carrying their flag. The minister, therefore, demanded a formal disavowal of this salute, and the dismissal and recal of the governor. This demand was answered with a temporising reply. On the twelfth of September, 1778, a memorial was presented to the States General from the merchants of Amsterdam, in which they complained that their commerce was obstructed by the ships of his Britannic Majesty. Friendly declarations and unfriendly actions followed each other. At length a declaration was published by the King of Great Britain, by which it was announced, "that the subjects of the United Provinces were henceforth to be considered upon the same footing with other martial powers, not privileged by treaty." Throughout the whole of this period the Dutch, by means of neutral ports, continued to supply the Americans, and the British to intercept their navigation, but open hostilities were avoided by both. The event which occasioned a formal declaration of war, was the capture of Henry Laurens. In the deranged state of the American finances, Mr. Laurens had been deputed by Congress to solicit a loan in the Netherlands, and also to negotiate a treaty. On his way thither he was taken, on the third of September, 1780. He had thrown his papers overboard, but great part of them were recovered. His papers being delivered to the British ministry were examined. Among them was found one purporting to be a plan of a treaty of amity and commerce between the United States and the Netherlands. This unauthentic paper, which was in Mr. Laurens' possession, proved the occasion of a war. The court of Great Britain was highly offended at it. The paper itself, and some others relating to the same subject, were delivered to the Stadtholder, who laid them before the states of the Netherlands.

Sir Joseph York, the British minister, presented a memorial to the States General, in which he asserted, "that the papers of Mr. Laurens had furnished the discovery of a plot, unexampled in the annals of the republic. That it appeared, by these papers, that the gentlemen of Amsterdam had been engaged in a clandestine correspondence with the American rebels, from the

month of August, 1778; and that instructions and full powers had been given by them for the conclusion of a treaty of amity with those rebels, who were the subjects of a sovereign, to whom the republic was united by the closest engagements." He, therefore, in the name of his master, demanded a formal disavowal of this irregular conduct, and a prompt satisfaction proportioned to the offence, and an exemplary punishment of the pensionary, Van Berkel, and his accomplices, as disturbers of the public peace, and violators of the laws of nations. The States General disavowed the intended treaty of the city of Amsterdam, and engaged to prosecute the pensioner, but this was deemed not satisfactory. Sir Joseph York was ordered to withdraw from the Hague, and soon after a manifesto against the Dutch was published in London. This was followed by an order of council, "that general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the Netherlands." A war with the Netherlands being resolved upon, the storm of British vengeance first burst on the Dutch island of St. Eustatia. It was the grand free port of the West Indies. Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan, with a large fleet and army, proceeded against it, and demanded a surrender, on the third of February, 1781, which was complied with forthwith, since it was not in a defensible state, and the inhabitants were recommended by the governor to the clemency of the British commanders.

The wealth accumulated in the store-houses on this small island alone was prodigious, being, on a moderate calculation, estimated at above three millions pounds sterling, or thirteen millions and two hundred thousand dollars. All this property, together with what was found on the island, was seized and declared to be confiscated. This valuable booty was farther increased by new arrivals. The conquerors, perfidiously, for some time kept up Dutch colours, which decoyed American, French, and Dutch ships into their hands, to the number of one hundred and fifty, besides a Dutch frigate, and other armed craft.

The severity with which the victors proceeded, drew on them great censure.

See Marshall's Life of Washington, and Ramsey's History of the Revolutionary War, &c.

CHAPTER XI.

The soldiers of the Pennsylvania line revolt—Also, the soldiers of a part of the New-Jersey—Distresses of the American army—General Arnold invades Virginia—Operations in North and South Carolina and Georgia—Americans under Morgan make an irruption into the district of Ninety Six—Colonel Tarleton is sent to oppose him—Is defeated at the Cowpens—Cornwallis prepares to invade North Carolina—Reinforcements under Leslie arrive at Charleston—Morgan retreats with the prisoners taken at the Cowpens—Lord Cornwallis pursues him—General Greene retires to North Carolina—Greene and Morgan form a junction—Cornwallis follows the southern army—Greene withdraws from North Carolina to Virginia—Proclamation of Lord Cornwallis to the inhabitants—Greene returns into North Carolina—Skirmishes—Success of the Americans—Battle of Guilford—The flight of the North Carolina militia occasions the defeat of the Americans—Greene retreats to Reedy Fork, and makes a stand—Lord Cornwallis marches from Guilford to Wilmington in the same state—Greene follows the British army—Cornwallis leaves Wilmington, and marches to Petersburgh in Virginia—Greene advances to Camden, in South Carolina—Action between the Americans, under Greene, and the British, under Lord Rawdon, near Camden—Greene forced to retreat—Lord Rawdon evacuates Camden, and retires behind the Santee—Success of the Americans—General Greene besieges the post of Ninety Six, but is forced to raise it, by Lord Rawdon—He retreats before the British, under Lord Rawdon, to the river Enoree—Retrograde movements of Lord Rawdon—Greene goes in quest of him—The British abandon Ninety Six—Greene, at the Eutaws, defeats the British, under Lord Rawdon—Lord Cornwallis arrives in Virginia—Is opposed by the Marquis de La Fayette—The British cross James

River—The Americans retire—The Generals Wayne and Steuben join La Fayette—Cornwallis retreats to Williamsburgh—The British army takes post at Yorktown—Count de Grasse, with a French fleet, arrives in the Chesapeake—A body of French troops, under the Marquis de St. Simon, debarks, and joins the Americans, under La Fayette—Perilous situation of the British army, under Cornwallis—A powerful British fleet attempts, but without success, to afford relief—The American and French armies, under Washington and Rochambeau, break up their cantonments on the Hudson, and march for Virginia—They arrive at Williamsburgh—Yorktown invested by the combined armies of America and France, and by the French fleet—Operations—The British army, under Lord Cornwallis, surrenders—Arnold, with a body of British troops, makes an inroad into Connecticut, and commits great depredations.

Though General Arnold's address to the American soldiery produced no effect in detaching them from the service, yet a serious revolt happened in the Pennsylvania line, and in some other corps. This was occasioned in consequence of the men not being paid, clothed, and provided for, as stipulated by Congress. They had declined the proffers made to them to enter the British service, but their distresses at length induced them to mutiny. This event, which had been long expected, made its first threatening appearance in the Pennsylvania line. The soldiers enlisted in that state were for the most part Irish, and were inferior to none in discipline and courage. They had been but a few months before the most active instruments in quelling a mutiny among the Connecticut troops. An ambiguity in the terms of their enlistment, furnished a pretext for their conduct. A great part of them were enlisted for three years, or during the war; the three years were expired, and the men insisted that the choice of staying or going remained with them, while the officers contended that the choice was in the state.

The mutiny was excited by the non-commissioned officers and

soldiers, in the night of the first of January, 1781, and soon became so universal in the line of that state, as to defy all opposition. The whole, except three regiments, upon a signal for that purpose, turned out under arms, without their officers, and declared for a redress of grievances. The officers in vain endeaoured to quell them. Several were wounded, and a captain was killed in attempting it. General Wayne presented his pistols, as if about to fire on them; they held their bayonets to his breast, and said, "We love and respect you, but if you fire, you are a dead man! We are not going to the enemy—on the contrary, if they were now to come out, you should see us fight, under your orders, with as much alacrity as ever; but we will be no longer amused—we are determined on obtaining what is our just due." Deaf to arguments, they, to the number of thirteen hundred, moved off in a body from Morristown, and proceeded in good order, with their arms and six field-pieces, to Princeton. General Wayne forwarded provisions to them.

Congress sent a committee of their body to them to procure an accommodation. These met them at Princeton, and redressed all their grievances, and dismissed those who wished it. By these measures, the revolt was quelled. A general amnesty closed the business.

The spirit of mutiny proved contagious. During the same month, about one hundred and sixty of the New-Jersey troops followed the example of the Pennsylvania line; but they did not conduct themselves with equal spirit. Major-general Howe, with a considerable force, was ordered to reduce them to obedience. He marched from Kingwood, about midnight, and by the dawn of day surrounded them. They were commanded to lay down their arms, which was complied with, and two were unjustly executed.

These mutinies alarmed the states, but did not produce permanent reliefs to the army. Their wants were only partially supplied, and by expedients from one short time to another. The most usual was ordering an officer to seize on provisions wherever found. This differed from robbery, only in its being done by authority, for the service, and in the officers always

giving the proprietor a certificate of the quantity. At first, some reliance was placed on these certificates to support a future demand on the United States, but they soon, in consequence of the bad credit of the government, became of little or no value. Recourse was so frequently had to coercion, both legislative and military, that the people not only lost confidence in public credit, but became impatient, under all exertions, for forcing their property from them. That an army should have been kept together under such circumstances, so far exceeds credibility, as to make it necessary to produce some evidence of the fact. General James Clinton, in a letter to Washington, dated at Albany, the sixteenth of April, 1781, wrote as follows: "There is not now, independent of Fort Schuyler, three days' provision in the whole department, for the troops, in case of an alarm, nor any prospect of procuring any. The recruits of the new levies, I cannot receive, because I have nothing to give them. The Canadian families, I have been obliged to deprive of their scanty pittance, contrary to every principle of humanity. The quarter-master's department is totally useless, the public armoury has been shut up for near three weeks, and a total suspension of every military operation has ensued."

Fort Schuyler, on the Mohawk, West Point, on the Hudson, and the other posts on that river, were on the point of being abandoned by their starving garrisons. At this period, there was little or no circulating medium, either in the form of paper or specie, and in the neighbourhood of the army, there was a want of provisions. The deficiency of the former occasioned many inconveniences, and an unequal distribution of the burdens of the war; but the insufficiency of the latter, had well nigh dissolved the army.

This crisis, which had been ardently wished for by the enemy, and dreaded by the Americans, took place in 1781, but without realising the hopes of the one, or the fears of the other. New resources were opened, and the war was carried on as before. A great deal of gold and silver was about this time introduced into the United States, by a trade with the French and Spanish Islands, in the West Indies, and by the French

army in Rhode Island. Representations were made to the ministers of Louis XVI., by Washington, Dr. Franklin, and Colonel John Laurens. The king of France gave the United States a subsidy of six millions of livres, and became their security for ten millions more borrowed for their use in the Netherlands. A regular system of finance was also adopted. All matters, relative to the treasury, the supplies of the army, and the accounts were put under Robert Morris, who arranged the whole with economy. The public engagements were made in coin. The introduction of so much gold and silver, together with these regulations, extricated Congress from much of their embarrassment, and put it in their power to feed, clothe, and move the army.

About the same time, the continental money ceased to have currency. Like an aged man, expiring by the decays of nature, without a sigh or groan, it fell asleep in the hands of its possessors. By the scale of depreciation, the war was carried on five years, for a little more than four millions four hundred thousand dollars, and two hundred millions of paper dollars were made redeemable by five millions of silver ones. Public faith was violated, but in the opinion of most men, public good was promoted. Nothing can afford stronger proof that the resistance of America to Great Britain was grounded in the hearts of the people, than these events. To receive paper bills of credit, issued without any funds, and to give property in exchange for them, demonstrated the enthusiasm with which the war was begun.

While the Americans were suffering the complicated calamities which introduced the year 1781, their adversaries were carrying on an extensive plan of operations. It had often been objected to the British commanders, that they had not conducted the war in the manner most likely to effect the subjugation of the states. Military critics, in particular, found fault with them for keeping a large army idle at the city of New-York, and its vicinity, which they said, if properly applied, would have been sufficient to make successful impressions at one and the same time, on several of the states. The British seem to have calcu-

lated the campaign of 1781, with a view to make an experiment of the comparative merit of this mode of conducting military operations. The war raged in that year, not only in the vicinity of New-York, but in Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia. To favour Lord Cornwallis' designs in the southern states, General Leslie, with about two thousand men, had been detached from New-York to the Chesapeake, in the latter end of 1780; but subsequent events induced his lordship to order him to Charleston. Soon after the departure of Leslie, Virginia was again invaded by another party of the royal troops from New-York. These were commanded by General Arnold, and consisted of about sixteen hundred men. They landed about fifteen miles below Richmond, on James' River, on the fifth of January, and marched thence to that town, where they destroyed large quantities of tobacco, salt, rum, sail-cloth, and other merchandise. Successive excursions were made to several other places, in which the army committed similar devastations.

In about two weeks, they proceeded to Portsmouth, and began to fortify it. The havoc made by Arnold, and the apprehension of a design to fix a post in Virginia, induced Washington to detach the Marquis La Fayette, with twelve hundred men to that state, and also to urge the French in Rhode Island, to co-operate in attempting to capture Arnold and his party. The French commanders closed with the proposal. With this view, their fleet, with fifteen hundred additional men on board, sailed from Newport for Virginia. D'Estouches, the admiral, previous to the sailing of his fleet, dispatched a sixty-four gun ship and two frigates, with orders to destroy the British ships in the Chesapeake. These took ten vessels, and captured the Romulus, a forty-four gun frigate. Arbuthnot, with a British fleet sailed from Gardiner's Bay, at the east end of Long Island in pursuit of D'Estouches. The former overtook and engaged the latter, off the Capes of Virginia. The British were considerably superior in guns. The contest between the fleets was so nearly equal, that it ended without the loss of a ship on either side; but the British obtained the fruits of victory so

far, as to frustrate the scheme of their adversaries. The French fleet returned to Rhode Island. Thus was Arnold and his party saved. The day before the French fleet reached Newport, a convoy arrived in the Chesapeake, from New-York, with General Philips, and two thousand men. Philips and Arnold soon formed a junction, and carried every thing before them. They defeated those bodies of militia that came in their way. The whole country was open to their excursions. On their embarkation from Portsmouth, a detachment visited York-town, but the main body proceeded to Williamsburgh. On the twenty-second of April, they reached Chickapowing. A party went up that river, and destroyed much property. On the twenty-fourth, they landed at City Point, and soon after marched to Petersburgh, on the Appomatox. About a mile from the town they were opposed by a small force, commanded by Baron De Steuben ; but this was compelled to retreat. At Petersburgh, they destroyed four thousand hogsheads of tobacco, and several vessels. Within three days, one party marched to Chesterfield court-house, and burned the barracks, and three hundred barrels of flour at that place. On the same day, another party, under Arnold, marched to Osborne's, about four miles above Chesterfield, where they took a number of vessels loaded with tobacco, flour, cordage, &c. The quantity of tobacco taken and destroyed, exceeded two thousand hogsheads. The royal forces then marched to Manchester, where they destroyed twelve hundred hogsheads of tobacco ; returning thence, they made great destruction at Warwick. They destroyed the ships on the stocks and in the river, the ropewalk, warehouses, tan houses, with their commodities. On the ninth of May, they returned to Petersburgh, having destroyed property to a large amount. About this time, General Philips died, and the command devolved again on Arnold.

The successes which, with a few checks, followed the British arms, since they had reduced Savannah and Charleston, encouraged them to pursue their object. by advancing from south to north. An invasion of North Carolina was therefore pro-

jected for the business of the winter, which followed General Gates' defeat near Camden.

The army, after its defeat and dispersion, on the sixteenth of August, 1780, rendezvoused at Hillsborough. In the latter end of the year it advanced to Charlottetown. At this place General Greene superceded Gates. Within a few days after, Lieutenant-colonel Washington being out on a foraging excursion, penetrated to the seat of Lieutenant-colonel Rigley, of the British militia. This was fortified by a block-house and other works, and was defended by upwards of one hundred of the inhabitants, who had submitted to the royal government. Lieutenant-colonel Washington advanced with his cavalry, and planted the trunk of a pine tree so as to resemble a field-piece. A peremptory demand of an immediate surrender was then made, which was complied with.

The whole southern army, at this time, consisted of about two thousand men, more than half of whom were militia. The regulars had been, for a long time, without pay, and were very deficient in clothing. The procuring of provisions was a matter of difficulty. Paper money had suffered the same deterioration in the southern states that it had in the middle and northern. Hard money had not a physical existence. The only mode left for supplying the army, was that of impressment. To seize on the property of the inhabitants, and at the same time preserve their affections, was a difficult business, and of delicate execution, but of the utmost moment, as it furnished the army with provisions, without impairing the disposition of the inhabitants to co-operate with it in recovering the country. Such was the situation of the country, that it was almost equally dangerous for the army to go forward or stand still. In the first case every thing was hazarded; in the last the confidence of the people would be lost, and all prospect of being supported by them. The nature of the country, thinly inhabited, abounding with swamps, and covered with woods, the inconsiderable force of the American army, the number of the disaffected, and the want of magazines, inclined General Greene to prefer a partisan war.

With a small army, miserably provided, General Greene took the field against a superior British force, which had marched in triumph two hundred miles from the sea-coast. Soon after he divided his force, and sent General Morgan, with a detachment, to the western extremity of South Carolina, and about the same time marched with the main body to Hick's Creek, on the north side of the Pedee.

After the general submission of the militia in the preceding year, a revolution ensued highly favourable to the interest of the United States. The residence of the British army, instead of increasing the friends to royal government, diminished their numbers, and added strength to the Americans. The appearance of General Morgan in the district of Ninety Six, under these favourable circumstances, induced several persons to resume their arms, and to act in concert with his troops.

When Morgan made his appearance in the district of Ninety Six, Lord Cornwallis was far advanced in his preparations for the invasion of North Carolina. To leave Morgan in the rear might be attended with great detriment. In order, therefore, to drive him from this station, Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton was directed to proceed against him, with eleven hundred men. With these forces Tarleton, on the seventeenth of January, 1781, engaged Morgan, at a place called the Cowpens. The latter drew up his men in two lines, in an open wood. The southern militia, with one hundred and ninety from North Carolina, were put under the command of Colonel Pickens. These formed the first line, and were advanced a few hundred yards before the second, with orders to form on the right of the second, when forced to retire. The second line consisted of infantry and riflemen. Lieutenant-colonel Washington, with his cavalry and some mounted militia-men, were drawn up in the rear of the whole. On the side of the British, the legionary infantry and fusileers, though worn down, were ordered to form the line. Before this order was executed, the line, though far from being complete, was led to the attack by Colonel Tarleton himself. They advanced with a shout, and poured in a volley of musketry. Colonel Pickens directed his men to re-

serve their fire till the British were within fifty yards. This order, though executed, was not sufficient to repel the advancing foes. Picken's men fell back. The British advanced, and engaged the second line, which after an obstinate conflict, was compelled to retreat. In this crisis, Colonel Washington made a charge on Captain Ogilvie, who, with forty dragoons, was cutting down the militia, and forced them to retreat. Colonel Howard at the same moment rallied the continentals, and charged with fixed bayonets. Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the British, occasioned by these unexpected charges. Their advance fell back on their rear, and communicated a panic to the whole. Two hundred and fifty horse, which had not been engaged, fled with precipitation. The artillery were seized by the Americans, and great confusion ensued among tbe infantry. While they were in this state of disorder, Colonel Howard called to them to lay down their arms. Some hundreds complied. Upwards of three hundred of the British were killed or wounded, and above five hundred made prisoners. Eight hundred muskets, two field-pieces, thirty-five baggage wagons, &c. fell into the hands of the victors.

The defeat of Colonel Tarleton was the first link in a chain of causes, which finally drew down ruin, both in South and North Carolina, on the royal cause.

Lord Cornwallis, though preparing to extend his conquests northerly, was not inattentive to the security of the royal cause in South Carolina. Besides the force at Charleston, he left a body of troops under Lord Rawdon. These were principally stationed at Camden, from which central situation they might easily be drawn to defend the frontiers, or to suppress insurrections. To facilitate the intended operations against North Carolina, Major Craig, with a detachment of three hundred men from Charleston, and a small marine force, took possession of Wilmington. The arrival of General Leslie in Charleston, gave Lord Cornwallis a decided superiority, and enabled him to attempt the reduction of North Carolina. Arnold was before him in Virginia, while South Carolina, in his rear, was considered as subdued. Whilst Lord Cornwallis viewed these

prospects, he received intelligence that Colonel Tarleton was completely defeated. This surprised, but did not discourage him. He hoped by exertions soon to obtain reparation for this disastrous event, and even to recover what he had lost. With the expectation of retaking the prisoners captured at the Cowpens, and to obliterate the impression made by the issue of the late action at that place, his lordship determined on the pursuit of General Morgan, who had moved off towards Virginia. The movements of the royal army, in consequence of this determination, induced General Greene to retreat from Hicks' Creek, lest the British should get between him and Morgan's detachment. General Greene left the main army under General Huger, and rode one hundred and fifty miles through the country to join Morgan's detachment, that he might be in front of Lord Cornwallis, and direct the motions of both divisions of his army, so as to form a junction between them.

Immediately after the action at the Cowpens, General Morgan sent on his prisoners under a guard, and having made arrangements for their security, retreated with expedition. Nevertheless, the British gained ground upon him. Greene, on his arrival, ordered the prisoners to Charlotteville, and directed the troops to Guilford court-house, to which place he also ordered General Huger to proceed with the main army.

In this retreat the Americans underwent hardships almost incredible. Many of them performed their march, without shoes, over frozen ground, which so gashed their naked feet, that their blood marked every step of their progress. Their march lay through a barren country, that scarcely afforded necessaries for a few straggling inhabitants. In this severe season they were reduced to the necessity of fording creeks, and of remaining wet, without any change of clothes, till the heat of their bodies, and occasional fires in the woods, dried their tattered rags. To all these hardships they submitted, without the loss of a man by desertion. Lord Cornwallis reduced the quantity of his own baggage, and the example was followed by his officers. Every thing which was not necessary in action, or to the existence of his troops, was destroyed. The royal

army, encouraged by the example of his lordship, submitted to every hardship with cheerfulness. The British had urged the pursuit with so much rapidity, that they reached Catawba on the evening of the same day on which the Americans had crossed it. Before the next morning a heavy fall of rain made that river impassable, by which means Morgan, with his detachment and prisoners, made good his retreat. When the flood had subsided, Lord Cornwallis, with the British army, crossed the river, where it was five hundred yards broad and three feet deep, under a constant fire from the militia on the opposite side, commanded by General Davidson. The infantry and grenadier companies, as soon as they had reached the land, dispersed the Americans, General Davidson being killed at the first onset. The militia throughout the neighbouring settlements were dispirited, and but few of them could be persuaded to take or keep the field. A small party which collected about ten miles from the ford, was attacked and dispersed by Tarleton. The passage of the Catawba being effected, the Americans continued to flee, and the British to pursue. The former crossed the Yadkin on the second and third days of February, and secured their boats. Though the British were close in their rear, yet the want of boats and the rising of the river, made their crossing impossible. Thus the Americans in two instances escaped, in consequence of the rise of the streams after they had effected their passage, while the enemy were unable to cross them before the waters had fallen. Before the British effected the passage of the Yadkin, the two divisions of Greene's army made a junction at Guilford court-house. This was on the seventh of February. Though the junction had taken place, their combined numbers were so much inferior to the British, that General Greene deemed it prudent not to risk an action. He, therefore, retired over the Dan, to avoid an engagement till he was reinforced. Lord Cornwallis, knowing the inferiority of the Americans, conceived the hopes, by getting between General Greene and Virginia, to cut off his retreat, intercept his supplies and reinforcements, and oblige him to fight. With this view his lordship kept the upper country, where only the rivers

are fordable. Supposing his adversaries, from the want of a sufficient number of boats, could not make good their passage, or in case of their attempting it, he expected to be able to overtake and force them to action. In this expectation he was deceived. General Greene eluded his lordship. The British urged their pursuit with so much rapidity, that the American light troops were on the fourteenth compelled to retire upwards of forty miles. General Greene had the day before transported his army over the river Dan into Virginia. So rapid was the pursuit and so narrow the escape, that the van of the British army just arrived as the rear of the American had crossed.

The continental army being driven out of North Carolina, Lord Cornwallis left the Dan, and proceeded to Hillsborough, where he erected the royal standard, and published a proclamation inviting all loyal subjects to repair to it. But very few of the inhabitants evinced a disposition to range themselves under it. Notwithstanding the indifference or timidity of the loyalists, Lord Cornwallis hoped for aid from the inhabitants between Haw and the river Dan. He, therefore, detached Colonel Tarleton, with four hundred and fifty men, to give countenance to the friends of the royal government in that district. General Greene being informed that many of the inhabitants had joined his lordship, and that they were repairing in great numbers to make their submission, determined, at every hazard, to re-cross the Dan. This was effected on the twentieth and twenty-first of February. Immediately after the return of the Americans to North Carolina, some of their light troops, commanded by General Pickens and Lieutenant-colonel Lee, were detached in pursuit of Tarleton, who had been sent to encourage the insurrection of the royalists. Three hundred and fifty of these, commanded by Colonel Pyles, when on their way to join the British, fell in with this American party, and mistaking them for loyalists, were cut to pieces. Tarleton was refreshing his legion about a mile from this scene of slaughter. Upon hearing the alarm, he re-crossed the Haw, and returned to Hillsborough. On his return, he cut down several of the royalists, as they were advancing to join him, mistaking them

for the Americans. These events, together with the return of the American army, overturned all the schemes of Lord Cornwallis. The tide of public sentiment was no longer in his favour. The advocates for the royal government being discouraged, could not be induced to act.

Though General Greene had re-crossed the river Dan, his plan was not to venture upon an immediate action, but to keep alive the spirits of his party, depress that of the loyalists, and harrass the foragers and detachments of the British, till the expected reinforcements should arrive. He manœuvered for three weeks, constantly avoiding an engagement, when two brigades of militia from North Carolina, and one from Virginia, together with four hundred regulars, arrived. These gave him a superiority of numbers, and he determined no longer to decline a battle with the enemy. Lord Cornwallis having long sought for this, no longer delay took place on either side. The American army consisted of four thousand four hundred men, of whom more than one half were militia; the British of two thousand four hundred troops. The former was drawn up in three lines. The first was composed of North Carolina militia, the second of Virginia militia, and the third of continentals under General Huger and Colonel Williams. After a brisk cannonade in front, the British advanced in three columns. The Hessians on the right, the guards in the centre, and Colonel Webster's brigade on the left, and attacked the front line. This gave way, when their adversaries were at the distance of one hundred and forty yards, and precipitately quitted the field. The Virginia militia stood their ground, and kept up their fire, till they were ordered to retreat. The continentals were the last engaged, and maintained the conflict with great spirit for an hour and a half. At length the enemy gained the day. They broke the second Maryland brigade, turned the American left flank, and got in the rear of the Virginia brigade. They threatened Greene's right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops; a retreat was therefore ordered. This was made in good order, and no farther than over the Reedy Fork, a distance of three miles.

Greene halted there, and drew up till he had collected most of the stragglers, and then retired to Speedwell's Iron Works, ten miles distant from Guilford. The Americans lost four pieces of cannon, and two ammunition wagons. The victory cost the British dear. Their killed and wounded numbered several hundreds. Colonel Stuart and three captains fell, and Colonel Webster died of his wounds. Generals O'Hara and Howard, and Colonel Tarleton were wounded. About three hundred continentals, and one hundred of the Virginia militia were killed or wounded. Among the former was Major Anderson, of the Maryland line; of the latter, Generals Huger and Stevens. The American army sustained a great diminution, by the number of fugitives, who, instead of rejoining the camp, went to their homes. Lord Cornwallis suffered so much, that he was in no condition to improve the advantage he had gained. The British had only the name, the Americans all the good consequences of a victory. General Greene retreated, and Lord Cornwallis kept the field; but, notwithstanding, the British interest, in North Carolina, was from that day ruined. On the nineteenth of March, Lord Cornwallis left his hospital, and seventy-five wounded men, with the loyalists in the vicinity, and began a march towards Wilmington, which had the appearance of a retreat. This was on the nineteenth of March, four days after the battle of Guilford.

General Greene no sooner received information of this movement of Lord Cornwalls, than he put his army in motion to follow him. The Americans continued the pursuit of Cornwallis till they had arrived at Ramsay's Mills, on Deep River, but for good reasons desisted from following any farther.

Lord Cornwallis halted, and refreshed his army for about three weeks at Wilmington, and then marched across the country to Petersburgh in Virginia. Before it was known that his lordship had determined on this movement, the resolution of returning to South Carolina was formed by General Greene. Had the American army followed his lordship, the southern states would have considered themselves as conquered; for their hopes and fears prevailed just as the armies marched north or south.

While the two armies were in North Carolina, the whig inhabitants, in some parts of South Carolina, were animated by the actions of Sumpter and Marion. These partisans, while surrounded with enemies, kept the field. Having mounted their followers, their movements were rapid, and their attacks unexpected. They intercepted the British convoys, infested their outposts, beat up their quarters, and harassed their detachments with such frequent alarms, that they were obliged to be constantly on their guard. On the western extremity of the state, Sumpter was supported by Colonels Neil, Lacey, Hill, Win, Bratton and Brandon; and in the northeastern Marion received assistance from Colonels Horry, Baxter and Postel. The inhabitants, either as affection or vicinity induced, arranged themselves under these officers.

Before General Greene set out on his march for South Carolina, he sent orders to General Pickins to prevent supplies from going to the British garrisons at Ninety Six and Augusta, and also detached Colonel Lee to advance before the continental troops. The latter, in eight days, penetrated through the country to General Marion's quarters, upon the Santee. The main army, in a few days more, completed their march from Deep River to Camden. The British had erected, in South Carolina, a chain of posts from the capital to the extreme districts of the state, which had communications with each other. While General Greene was marching against Camden, Fort Watson, which lay between Camden and Charleston was invested, and taken by Marion and Lee.

General Greene reached Camden about the twenty-fourth of April. Camden, before which the American army encamped, is a village, situated on a plain, covered on the south and east sides, by the Wateree and a creek. It was defended by Lord Rawdon, with about nine hundred men. The American force consisted of about the same number of continentals, and three hundred militia. It occupied a position about a mile from the town. Lord Rawdon, on the twenty-fifth of April, armed his whole force, and attacked the Americans. Victory at first, inclined to the latter, but in the progress of the action, it declared

for the former. General Greene was obliged to retreat, but he conducted it with so much order, that he carried off most of his wounded and all his artillery. The British returned to Camden, and the Americans encamped about five miles from the field of battle.

On the seventh of May, Lord Rawdon received a reinforcement of five hundred men. With this increase of strength, he attempted on the next day to compel General Greene to another action, but found that general disinclined. Having failed in this design, he returned to Camden and burned the jail, mills, many private houses, and a great deal of his own baggage. He then evacuated that post, and retired to the southward of the Santee. The fall of Fort Watson, broke the communication with Charleston, and the position of the American army in a great measure intercepted supplies. The British, in South Carolina, now cut off from all communication with Lord Cornwallis, would have hazarded Charleston, by keeping large detachments in their distant posts; they therefore resolved to contract their limits, by retiring within the Santee. While General Greene lay in the neighbourhood of Camden he hung in one day, eight soldiers, who had deserted from his army. This had such effect, that afterwards there was no desertion for three months. On the day after the evacuation, Camden, the post at Orangeburgh, consisting of seventy British militia, and twelve regulars, surrendered to General Sumpter. On the next day Fort Motte above the fork, on the south side of the Congaree, capitulated.

On the fourteenth of May, the British abandoned their post at Nelson's Ferry. On the day following, the garrison of Fort Granby, consisting of three hundred and fifty-two men, mostly royal militia, surrendered to Lieutenant-colonel Lee.

General Marion, with a party of militia, marched about this time to Georgetown, and began regular approaches against it. The enemy, on the first night after his men had broken ground, left the town, and retreated to Charleston. In the manner just related, the British lost six posts, and abandoned all the northeastern extremities of South Carolina. Immediately after

the surrender of Fort Granby, Lieutenant-colonel Lee, commenced his march for Augusta, and in four days arrived before it. Lee, on his arrival, joined General Pickens, who, with a body of militia, had for some time past taken post in its vicinity. They jointly carried on their approaches against Fort Cornwallis, at Augusta, in which Colonel Brown commanded. On the fifth day of June, when farther resistance became hopeless, the garrison, to the number of three hundred, surrendered on terms of capitulation. After the surrender, Lieutenant-colonel Grierson, of the British militia, was shot by the Americans. Individuals, whose passions were inflamed by injuries and exasperated with animosity, were eager to gratify revenge in violation of the laws of war. Murders had produced murders. Plundering, assassinations and house-burnings had become common. Zeal for the royal cause, or independence, were the ostensible motives of action; but in several of both sides, the love of plunder, private pique, and a savage disposition, led to actions which were disgraceful to human nature.

While operations were carrying on against the small posts, General Greene proceeded with his army, and laid siege to Ninety Six, in which Lieutenant-colonel Cruger, with upwards of five hundred men, was posted. On the left of the besiegers was a work erected in the form of a star, on the right was a strong blockade fort, with two block-houses in it. The town was also picketed and surrounded with a ditch and bank. The siege was prosecuted with indefatigable industry, from the twenty-fifth of May to the eighteenth of June, when General Greene was forced to raise it. He was compelled to do this, in consequence of the near approach of Lord Rawdon with two thousand men. Before he raised the siege, he endeavoured to carry the place by assault, but was repulsed. General Greene took a position on the other side of the Saluda. Truly distressing was the situation of the American army at this time. When they were nearly masters of the whole country, they were compelled to seek safety, by retreating to its utmost extremity. In this gloomy situation, General Greene was advised to retire with his remaining force to Virginia; but he nobly declined,

and adopted the only expedient now left him, that of avoiding an engagement, till the British forces should be divided.

Lord Rawdon, who was near Ninety Six at the time of the assault, pursued the Americans as far as the Enoree River, but without being able to overtake them. Desisting from this hopeless pursuit, he drew off a part of his force from Ninety Six, and fixed a detachment at Congaree. General Greene, on learning that the British force was divided, faced about to give them battle. Lord Rawdon, alarmed at this unexpected movement, abandoned the Congaree in two days after he had reached it, and marched to Orangeburgh. General Greene pursued him, and offered battle, but his lordship declined.

The British about the middle of July, withdrew their troops from Ninety Six. General Greene, being unable to prevent these troops from joining those under Lord Rawdon, and still less so to stand before them after combined, retired to the high hills of Santee. The evacuation of Camden having been effected by striking at the posts below it, the same plan was now attempted to induce the British to leave Orangeburgh. With this view Generals Sumpter and Marion, with their brigades and the legionary cavalry, were detached to Monk's Corner and Dorchester. They moved down different roads, and commenced separate and successful attacks on convoys and detachments in the vicinity of Charleston. In this manner was the war carried on. While the British kept their forces concentrated, they could not cover the country, and when they divided them, the Americans attacked and defeated them in detail. The people found that their late conquerors could not protect them. The spirit of revolt became general, and the royal interest daily declined.

The British, having evacuated all their posts to the northward of the Santee and Congaree, and to the westward of the Edisto, conceived themselves able to hold all that fertile country which is in a measure enclosed by these rivers. They, therefore, once more resumed their station near the union of the Wateree and Congaree. General Greene now crossed the Wateree and Congaree, and assembled his whole force on the

south side of the latter river, in order to act offensively. On his approach, the British retired about forty miles nearer Charleston, and took post at the Eutaw Springs. General Greene advanced with two thousand men, to attack them in their encampment at this place. His force was drawn up in two lines. As the Americans advanced, they fell in with two parties of the British, three or four miles a-head of their main army. These, being briskly attacked, soon retired. The Americans continued to pursue and fire, till the action became general. In the hottest of the action, Colonel O. Williams and Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, with a body of continentals, charged with trailed arms. Nothing could surpass the intrepidity of both officers and men on this occasion. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, while leading his men on to the charge, received a mortal wound. The British were compelled to give way and retire with great precipitation. Upwards of five hundred were taken prisoners. On their retreat, they took post in a strong brick house and picketted garden. From this advantageous position they renewed the action, and compelled the Americans to retire, with the loss of numbers of their men and four pieces of cannon. In the evening of the next day, Lieutenant-colonel Stuart, who commanded on this occasion, left seventy of his wounded men and a thousand stand of arms, and moved from the Eutaws towards Charleston. The loss of the British, inclusive of prisoners, was about eleven hundred men, and that of the Americans about five hundred.

Soon after this engagement, the Americans retired to their former position on the high hills of Santee. In the close of the year, General Greene moved down into the lower country, and about the same time, the British abandoned their out posts, and retired with their whole force to the quarter-house, on Charleston Neck. The battle of Eutaw may be considered as closing the national war in South Carolina. Thus ended the campaign of 1781, in the latter state.

It has already been mentioned that Lord Cornwallis, soon after the battle of Guilford, marched to Wilmington, in North Carolina. When he had completed that march, various plans

of operation were presented to his view. Such as returning to South Carolina and of marching to Virginia, and joining the royal forces in that state. After mature deliberation, his lordship came to the determination of adopting the latter. He wished to reap new laurels. He flattered himself that Lord Rawdon, whom he had left in South Carolina, would be able to maintain his ground and preserve the conquests already made in that state. On the twenty-fifth of April, his lordship, therefore, proceeded on his march from Wilmington towards Virginia. To favour the passage of the many rivers, with which the country is intersected, two boats were mounted on carriages, and taken along with the army. He proceeded several days without opposition, and almost without intelligence. The Americans, first made an attempt at Swift Creek, and afterwards at Fishing Creek, to stop his progress, but without effect. The British took the shortest road to Halifax, and on their arrival there, defeated several parties of Americans. The Roanoke, Meherrin, and Nottaway rivers, were successively crossed by the royal army, and with very little opposition. On the twentieth of May, his lordship reached Petersburgh, which had been fixed upon as the place of rendezvous, between him and General Philips. By this combination of the royal forces Lord Cornwallis saw himself at the head of a powerful army. This junction was scarcely completed, when his lordship received Lord Rawdon's report of the advantage he had gained over General Greene on the twenty-fifth ult. About the same time, he was informed that three British regiments had sailed from Cork for Charleston.

These two events eased his mind of all anxiety for South Carolina, and inspired him with hopes of a brilliant campaign. By the late junction of the royal forces at Petersburgh, and by the recent arrival of fifteen hundred men from New-York, Virginia became the principal theatre of operations for the remainder of the year. The formidable force, thus collected, called for the exertions of the friends of independence. The defensive operations, in opposition to it, were principally intrusted to the Marquis de La Fayette. Early in the year he had been de-

tached from the main American army by Washington, on an expedition, the object of which was a co-operation with the French fleet, in capturing Arnold. On the failure of this, the Marquis marched back as far as the head of the Elk. There he received an order to return to Virginia, to oppose the British forces, which had become formidable by the arrival of a considerable reinforcement under General Philips. He proceeded without delay to Richmond, and arrived there the day before the British reached Manchester, on the opposite side of James' River. Thus was the capital of Virginia, at that time, filled with almost all the military stores of the state, saved from imminent danger. So great was the superiority of numbers on the side of the British, that the Marquis was soon obliged to retire with his little army, consisting of one thousand regulars, and about two thousand one hundred militia.

Lord Cornwallis advanced from Petersburgh to James' River, which he crossed at Westown, and thence marching through Hanover county, crossed the South Anna or Pamunky River. The Marquis followed his motions, but at a guarded distance. Two expeditions were, therefore, undertaken by Lord Cornwallis. The one was to Charlotteville, with the view of capturing the governor and assembly of the state; the other to Point of Fork to destroy the stores. Colonel Tarleton, to whom the first was committed, succeeded so far as to disperse the assembly, capture some of its members, and destroy a great quantity of stores at and near Charlotteville. The other expedition, which was intrusted to Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, was only in part successful, for the Americans had previously removed most of their stores. In the course of these marches and counter-marches, immense quantities of property were destroyed, and sundry small skirmishes took place.—The Marquis acted so cautiously on the defensive, and made so judicious a choice of posts, and showed so much skill in his movements, as to prevent any advantage being taken of his weakness. He effected a junction at Racoon Ford with General Wayne, who was at the head of eight hundred men. While this junction was forming, the British got between the American

army, and its stores, which had been removed from Richmond to Albemarle. The possession of these was an object with both armies. La Fayette, by forced marches, got within a few miles of the British army when they were two days' march from Albemarle. The British general considered himself sure of his adversary, for he knew that the stores were his object; and he conceived it impracticable for the Marquis to get between him and the stores; but the latter extricated himself from this difficulty by taking a nearer road to Albemarle, and fixed himself between the British army and the American stores. This skillful movement frustrated Lord Cornwallis' scheme, and induced him to fall back to Richmond. About this time, the Marquis de La Fayette was reinforced by the troops under the Baron de Steuben, and by militia from the contiguous parts. He followed Cornwallis, and had the address to impress him with an idea that the American army was much more numerous than it actually was. His lordship retreated to Williamsburgh. The day after, the main body of his army reached that place, its rear was attacked by an American corps under Colonel Butler, and sustained considerable loss.

About the time Lord Cornwallis reached Williamsburgh, he received intelligence from New-York, setting forth the danger to which the royal army in that city was exposed, from a combined attack, that was said to be threatened by the French and Americans. Sir Henry Clinton, therefore, required a detachment from his Lordship, and recommended to him to take a healthy station, with the residue of his army, till the danger of New-York was dispersed. Lord Cornwallis, having complied with this requisition, and deeming his force inadequate to maintain his present position at Williamsburgh, determined to retire to Portsmouth. For the execution of this project, it was necessary to cross James' River.

The Marquis de La Fayette, conceiving this to be a favourable opportunity for acting offensively, advanced on the British. General Wayne, pushed forward with about eight hundred men to harass their rear. But contrary to his expectation, he found the whole British army drawn up to oppose him. In this peri-

lous situation, he assumed a bold appearance, and engaged them before he attempted to retire. Cornwallis, apprehending an ambuscade, did not pursue him, whereby Wayne was enabled to get off with little loss.

After Lord Cornwallis had crossed James River, he marched for Portsmouth. He had taken steps to send a part of his army to New-York. But before they sailed, he received a letter from Sir Henry Clinton, expressing his preference of Williamsburgh to Portsmouth, for the residence of the army, and his desire that Old Point Comfort or Hampton Roads should be secured as a station for the ships of war. Sir Henry, at the same time, allowed him to detain the whole of the forces under his command. On examination, Hampton Roads was not approved of as a station for the navy. Yorktown and Gloucester Points were therefore pitched upon, as preferable and more likely to accord with the views of Sir Henry Clinton. Portsmouth was thereupon evacuated, and its garrison transferred to Yorktown. Lord Cornwallis retained the whole force under his command, and applied himself with industry to fortify his new posts, so as to render them tenable by his army, amounting to seven thousand men.

At this period, the officers of the British navy expected that their fleet in the West Indies would join them, and that solid operations in Virginia would recommence.

While they where indulging these hopes, Count de Grasse, with a French fleet of twenty-eight sail of the line, from the West Indies, entered the Chesapeake, and about the same time intelligence arrived, that the American and French armies were advancing from the northern states towards Virginia. This was about the thirtieth of August. Count de Grasse blocked up York River, with three large ships and some frigates, and moored the principal part of his fleet in Lynnhaven bay. Three thousand two hundred French troops, under the Marquis de St. Simon, were debarked, and soon after formed a junction with the continentals, under the Marquis de La Fayette, and the whole took post at Williamsburgh. An attack on this force was intended by Lord Cornwallis, but he relinquished it in con-

sequence of intelligence from New-York, that he would be reinforced.

Admiral Greaves, with twenty sail of the line, made an effort for the relief of Cornwallis, but without effecting his purpose. When he appeared off the Capes of Virginia, Count de Grasse went out to meet him, and an indecisive engagement took place. This action was on the seventh of September. The object of de Grasse, in coming out of the capes, was mainly to cover a French fleet of ships of the line, which were expected from Newport in Rhode Island. In conformity to a pre-concerted plan, Count de Barras, the commander, had sailed for the Chesapeake, about the time de Grasse sailed from the West Indies, for the same place. To avoid the British fleet, he had taken a circuit by Bermuda. For fear that the British might intercept him on his approach to the capes, de Grasse came out to be at hand for his protection. While de Grasse and Greaves were manœuvering near the mouth of the Chesapeake, de Barrass passed the latter in the night and got within the capes. This gave the French fleet a decided superiority. All this time conformably to the well digested plan of the campaign, the American and French armies were marching though the middle states for Yorktown. To understand their proper connexion, the great events shortly to be described, it is necessary to go back, and trace the remote causes which brought on this grand combination of fleets and armies, which put a period to the war.

The fall of Charleston, in May, 1780, and the complete rout of the American southern army, in August following, gave a serious alarm to the friends of independence. In this low ebb of their affairs, a statement was made to Louis XVI., king of France, the magnanimous ally of the United States. His most Christian Majesty, deeply affected with the sufferings of the Americans, and the state of their affairs, generously gave them six millions of livres, and became their surety for ten millions more, borrowed for their use in the Netherlands. He also promised a naval co-operation, and a conjunct expedition against their common foe was projected.

The American war was now so far involved in the conse-

quences of naval operations, that a superior French fleet seemed to be the only hinge on which it was likely soon to take a favourable turn. The British army being parcelled in the different seaport towns of the United States, any division of it, blocked up by a French fleet, could not long resist the superior combined force which might be brought to operate against it. The Marquis de Castries, who directed the marine of France, calculated the naval force which the British could concentre on the coast of the United States, and disposed his own in such a manner as ensured him a preponderance. In conformity to these principles, and in subserviency to the design of the campaign, Count de Grasse sailed in March, 1781, from Brest, with twenty-five sail of the line, several thousand land forces, and a large convoy, amounting to more than two hundred ships, for the West Indies. The British fleet, then in the West Indies, had previously been weakened by the departure of a squadron for the protection of the ships which were employed in carrying to England the booty which had been taken at St. Eustatia. The British Admirals, Hood and Drake, were detached to intercept the outward-bound French fleet, commanded by de Grasse, but a junction between his force and eight ships of the line, and one fifty-gun ship which were previously in the West Indies was effected. By this union the French had a superiority. M. de Grasse, having finished his business in the West Indies, sailed in the beginning of August, out with a prodigious convoy. And after seeing this out of danger, he directed his course for the Chesapeake, and arrived there on the thirteenth of the same month. Five days before his arrival, the French fleet at Newport in Rhode Island, sailed for the same place. These fleets, notwithstanding their original distance from the scene of action, and from each other, coincided in their operations in a remarkable manner. They all tended to one object, and at one, and the same time, and that object was neither known nor suspected by the British till the season for counter-action had elapsed. This coincidence of circumstances extended to the marches of the American and French land-forces. The plan of operations had been so well digested, and so faithfully executed by the dif-

ferent commanders, that Washington and Rochambeau had passed the British head-quarters in New-York, and were considerably advanced in their way to Yorktown, before Count de Grasse had reached the American coast. This was effected in the following manner ;—Monsieur de Barras, appointed to the command of the French squadron at Newport, arrived at Boston with dispatches for Count de Rochambeau. An interview soon after took place at Weathersfield in Connecticut, between Washington and the generals Knox and du Portail, on the part of the Americans, and Count de Rochambeau and the Chevalier Chastelleux, on the part of the French. At this interview an eventual plan of the whole campaign was fixed. This was to lay siege to New-York, in concert with a French fleet, which was to arrive on the coast in the month of August. It was agreed that the French troops should march towards the Hudson. Washington requested the governors of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New-Jersey, to fill up their battalions, and to have six thousand two hundred militia, being their quotas, within a week of the time they might be called for. Conformable to these outlines of the campaign, the French troops marched from Rhode Island in June, and in July joined the American army. About the time this junction took place, Washington marched his army from its winter emcampment near Peekskill, to the vicinity of Kingsbridge. General Lincoln descended the Hudson, with a detachment in boats, and took possession of the ground where Fort Independence had formerly stood. An attack was made upon him, but was soon discontinued. The British, about this time concentrated nearly their whole force on Manhattan Island. Washington hoped to be able to commence operations against the city of New-York, about the middle or latter end of July. Flat bottomed boats, sufficient to transport five thousand men, were built near Albany, and brought down the Hudson to the neighbourhood of the American army before New-York. Ovens were erected in New-Jersey, opposite to Staten Island, for the use of the French troops. Every movement was made which was introductory to the commencement of the siege. It was not a little

mortifying to Washington to find himself, on the second day of August, to be only a few hundred stronger than he was on the day his army moved from their winter-quarters. To have fixed on a plan of operations with a foreign officer, at the head of a respectable force, in confident expectation of reinforcements sufficiently large to commence effective operations against the common enemy, and at the same time, to have engagements in behalf of the states, violated, and in a manner derogatory to his honor, was enough to have excited indignation in any mind, less calm than that of Washington. He bore this trial with his usual magnanimity, and contented himself with repeating his requisitions to the states, and at the same time, urged them to fulfil the engagements entered into on their account with Count de Rochambeau.

The tardiness of the states, which at other times had brought them near the brink of ruin, was now the accidental cause of real service. Had they sent forward their recruits for the army and their quotas of militia as was expected, the siege of New-York would have commenced the latter end of July, or the early part of August. While the season was wasting away in expectation of these reinforcements, Lord Cornwallis, as has been mentioned, fixed himself near the Capes of Virginia. His situation there, the arrival of a reinforcement of three thousand Germans from Europe to New-York, the superior strength of that garrison, the failure of the states in filling up their battalions, and embodying their militia, and especially, recent intelligence from Count de Grasse, that his destination was fixed to the Chesapeake, concurred, about the middle of August, to make a total change of the plan of the campaign.

The appearance of an intention to attack New-York, was nevertheless, kept up. While this deception was played off, the American and French armies crossed the Hudson, and passed by the way of Philadelphia, to Yorktown. An attempt to reduce the British forces in Virginia, promised success with more expedition, and to secure an object of nearly equal importance as the reduction of New-York. While the attack of New-York was in serious contemplation, a letter from Washing-

ton, detailing the particulars of the intended operations of the campaign, intercepted, fell into the hands of Sir Henry Clinton. After the plan was changed, the royal commander was so much under the impression of the intelligence, contained in the intercepted letter, that he believed every movement towards Virginia, to be a feint calculated to draw off his attention from the defence of New-York. Under the influence of this opinion, he bent his whole force to strengthen that post, and suffered the American and French armies to pass him without molestation.

On the twenty-fourth of August, the American and French armies commenced their march for Virginia, from the vicinity of New-York. Washington and Rochambeau, on reaching Chester, received news of the arrival of the French fleet under Count de Grasse. The French troops, in their march from Newport in Rhode Island to Yorktown in Virginia, a distance of five hundred miles, behaved with the greatest regularity and propriety. Washington and Rochambeau reached Williamsburgh on the fourteenth of September. They, with the generals Chastelleux, Du Portail and Knox, visited Count de Grasse on board the Ville de Paris, where they agreed on a plan of operations.

The allied forces of the United States and France, proceeded on their way to Yorktown, partly by land and partly down the Chesapeake. The whole, together with a body of Virginia militia, under General Nelson, amounting to twelve thousand men, rendezvoused at Williamsburgh, on the twenty-fifth of September, and on the thirtieth, moved down to lay siege to Yorktown. The French fleet, under Count de Grasse, at the same time, moved to the mouth of York River, and took a position which prevented Lord Cornwallis, from either retreating or receiving succor. The combined armies of the United States and France, halted in the evening about two miles from Yorktown. About this time, Lord Cornwallis received a letter from Sir Henry Clinton, announcing the arrival of Admiral Digby, with three ships of the line from Europe, and his determination to embark five thousand men in a fleet, which would probably sail on the fifth of October. That this fleet consisted

of twenty-three sail of the line. On the night of the receipt of this intelligence, Lord Cornwallis quitted his outward position, and retired to one more inward.

The works erected for the security of Yorktown on the right, were redoubts and batteries, with a line of stockades in the rear. A marshy ravine lay in front of the right, over which was placed a large redoubt. The morass extended along the centre, which was defended by a line of stockades and by batteries; on the left of the center was a horn-work with a ditch, a row of fraize, and an abbatis. Two redoubts were advanced before the left. The American and French armies advanced, and took possession of the ground from which the British had retired. About this time, the legionary cavalry and mounted infantry passed over the river to Gloucester; General De Choisy with his corps invested the British post on that side so fully as to cut off all communication between it and the country. In the mean time the royal army strengthened their works, and kept their artillery constantly employed in impeding the operations of the combined army. The Americans and French, on the ninth and tenth of October, opened their batteries, and kept up a heavy fire from their cannon, mortars and howitzers. The shells of the besiegers reached the ships in the harbour, and the Charon, of forty-four guns, and a transport ship were burned. On the tenth, a messenger arrived with a dispatch from Sir Henry Clinton, dated on the thirtieth ult., which stated various circumstances tending to lessen the probability of relief being obtained from New-York. Lord Cornwallis was at this juncture advised to evacuate Yorktown, and, after passing over to Gloucester, to force his way into the country. On the eleventh of October, the besiegers commenced their second parallel two hundred yards from the works of the besieged. Two redoubts, which were advanced on the left of the British, greatly impeded the progress of the allied armies; it was therefore proposed to carry them by storm. The reduction of the one was committed to the French, and that of the other to the Americans, and both marched to the assault with unloaded arms. The Americans having passed the abbatis and palisades, attacked on all sides and carried

the redoubt, with the loss of eight men killed and twenty-eight wounded. The latter were led by Colonel Alexander Hamilton. The French were equally successful on their part: they carried the redoubt assigned to them with rapidity. The troops in both were made prisoners. The reduction of these redoubts facilitated the operations of the besiegers. The British, to the number of four hundred men, headed by Lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, made a sortie on the sixteenth, and spiked eleven cannon, but this sortie produced no essential advantage. By this time the batteries of the allies were covered with nearly one hundred pieces of cannon, and the works of the besieged were soon so damaged that they could scarcely show a single gun. Lord Cornwallis had now no hope left, but from offering terms of capitulation or attempting an escape;—he determined on the latter. Boats were prepared to receive the troops in the night, and to transport them to Gloucester-Point. After one whole embarkation had crossed, a violent storm of wind and rain dispersed the boats employed on this business, and frustrated the scheme. Orders were sent to those who had passed the river to return to Yorktown. With the failure of this scheme the last hope of the British army expired. Longer resistance was unavailing; Lord Cornwallis, therefore, wrote a letter to Washington, requesting a suspension of arms for twenty-four hours, and that commissioners might be appointed to arrange terms of capitulation.

The posts of York and Gloucester were surrendered on the nineteenth of October. The troops were to be prisoners of war to America, and the naval forces to France. The honor of marching out with colours flying, which had been refused to General Lincoln on his giving up Charleston, was now refused to Cornwallis; and General Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army, in the way his own had been conducted about eighteen months before.

The French troops employed in this siege were seven thousand men, and the Americans, five thousand five hundred continentals and four thousand militia. On the part of the combined army, about three hundred were killed or wounded. On the part

of the British, about five hundred and seventy were taken in the redoubts which had been stormed. The troops of every kind that surrendered prisoners of war exceeded seven thousand men; but so great was the number of the sick and wounded, that there were only three thousand eight hundred capable of bearing arms. Brigadiers General Du Portail and Knox were both promoted to the rank of Major-generals on account of their services.

A British fleet and an army of seven thousand men, destined for the relief of Lord Cornwallis, arrived off the Chesapeake on the twenty-fourth of October; but, on receiving advice of his lordship's surrender, they returned to New-York. The loss of his army may be considered as closing the war in America.

The troops under Lord Cornwallis had spread considerable waste over the face of the country for four hundred miles on the sea coast, and for two hundred miles to the westward. Their marches from Charleston to Camden, from Camden to the river Dan, from the Dan through North Carolina to Wilmington, from Wilmington to Petersburgh, and from Petersburgh through many parts of Virginia, till they finally settled in Yorktown, made a rout of more than eleven hundred miles. Every place through which they passed experienced the effects of their rapacity. Their numbers, added to the unwarlike disposition of many of the inhabitants, enabled them to go whithersoever they pleased. The reduction of such an army occasioned transports of joy to the people throughout the United States

While the combined armies of America and France were marching to the siege of Yorktown, an excursion was made from New-York by a body of British troops, which was attended with no small loss to the Americans. General Arnold, who had lately returned from Virginia, was appointed to conduct an expedition, the object of which was the town of New-London, in the state of Connecticut. The troops employed therein were landed on the sixth of September, in two detachments on each side of the harbour. The one was commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Eyre, and the other by Arnold. The latter met with little opposition. Fort Trumbull and a redoubt which was intended to cover the harbour, not being tenable, were evacuated,

and the men crossed the river to Fort Griswold, on Groton Hill. This was attacked by Lieutenant-colonel Eyre. The garrison defended themselves with resolution; but, after a conflict of forty minutes, the fort was carried by the assailants. The Americans had not more than six or seven men killed when the British carried their lines; but a severe execution took place afterwards, though resistance had ceased. Colonel Ledyard, the commandant, was killed after he had presented his sword. Between thirty and forty were killed or wounded, and about forty were carried off prisoners. On the side of the British, forty-eight were killed, and one hundred and forty-five wounded. About fifteen vessels, loaded with the effects of the inhabitants, retreated up the river, and four others remained in the harbour unhurt, but all excepting these were burned by the communication of fire from the burning stores. Sixty dwelling houses and eighty-four stores were reduced to ashes, and the loss which the Americans sustained by the destruction of naval stores, of provisions and merchandise was immense. General Arnold, having completed the object of his expedition, returned in eight days to New-York.

The year 1781 terminated in all parts of the United States in favour of the Americans. It began with imbecility in the Carolinas, devastation in Virginia, and mutiny in New-Jersey; nevertheless, in its close the British were confined to their strong holds in or near New-York, Charleston and Savannah, and their whole army in Virginia was captured. The whole campaign passed away on their part without one valuable conquest, or the acquisition of any post or place from which higher purposes were answered than destroying public stores, or distressing individuals. The highly important services rendered by the French to the Americans led, in a great measure, to results so favourable.

The Cherokee Indians having forgot the consequences of provoking the Americans to invade their settlements in the year 1776, made an incursion into Ninety Six District, in South Carolina, in 1781, massacred some families. and burned several houses. General Pickens collected a party of the militia, and

penetrated into their country. This he accomplished in fourteen days, at the head of four hundred horsemen. In that short space, he burned thirteen towns and villages, and killed upwards of forty Indians, and took a number of prisoners, without losing a man. None of the expeditions against the Cherokees had been so rapid and decisive as this one. On this occasion, a new and successful mode of fighting them was introduced. The Americans rushed forward on horseback, and charged the Cherokees with drawn swords. The vanquished Cherokees again sued for peace in the most submissive terms, and obtained it, but not till they had promised that instead of listening to the advice of the royalists, instigating them to war, they would deliver up all who should visit them on that errand.

See Ramsey's History of the Revolutionary War, &c.

CHAPTER XII.

After the capture of Cornwallis, Washington returns to the vicinity of New-York—General Wayne is sent by General Greene to Georgia—General Wayne defeats Colonel Brown near Savannah—Slavery a source of weakness—The French take Demarara, &c.—Admiral Rodney defeats Count de Grasse, in a naval action—John Adams prevails on the government of the Netherlands to acknowledge the Independence of the United States—He negociates a loan, &c.—The Parliament of Great Britain recommend a discontinuance of offensive operations in the United States—A new Ministry formed in Great Britain—Sir Guy Carleton, the General-in-chief of the British armies in America, propose to Congress to treat of Peace—Congress decline to treat without it be in conjunction with France—John Adams, John Jay, Dr. Franklin and Henry Laurens agree with the Ministers of Great Britain on preliminaries of peace—Treatment of American prisoners—Calamities of the war—Baneful effects of Committees of public safety—Discharge of the American army—One of the officers publishes to the troops, a seditious address—Washington convenes the officers and counteracts the intended effects of the address—Some of the troops in Pennsylvania mutiny, and surround the State-house and the Hall of Congress—Washington issues his farewell address to the army—The City of New-York evacuated by the British—Washington, with a numerous suite makes his triumphal entry into the City of New-York—Washington takes leave of his officers, and leaves New-York for Mount Vernon, his residence—On his way he stops at Annapolis, and resigns to Congress his commission.

After the taking of Lord Cornwallis, Washington, with the greatest part of his army, returned to the neighbourhood of New-York. He was in no condition to attempt the reduction

of the post at that city, and the royal army had good reasons for not urging hostilities without their lines. An obstruction of the communication between the city and country, some indecisive skirmishes and predatory excursions were the principal evidences of an existing state of the war. This, in a great measure, was the case in South Carolina and Georgia. From December, 1781, General Greene had possession of all the former state, Charleston and the vicinity excepted. The British sometimes sallied out of their lines, for the acquisition of property and provisions, but never for the purpose of conquest. In opposing one of these in August, 1782, near Combahee, Lieutenant-colonel John Laurens was mortally wounded.

At the commencement of 1782, the British had a more extensive range in Georgia, than in any other of the United States. From the unsuccessful issue of the assault on Savannah, in 1779, that state had eminently suffered the desolations of war. Political hatred raged to such a degree, that the blood of the citizens was daily shed by the hands of each other, contending under the names of whigs and tories. Some of the former kept together in the western settlements, and exercised the powers of government. The whole extent between these and Savannah, was subject to the alternate ravages of these violent parties. After the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, General Greene, being reinforced by the Pennsylvania line, was enabled to detach General Wayne, with a part of the southern army, to Georgia.—General Clarke, who commanded in Savannah, on hearing of their advance, sent orders to the officers in the outposts, to burn as far as they could, all the provisions in the country, and then to retire within the lines, at the capital. The country being evacuated by the British, the governor with his council, returned from Augusta to Ebenezer.

Colonel Brown, with a considerable force, marched out of Savannah with the apparent intention of attacking the Americans. General Wayne, by a skilful movement, gained his rear, attacked him about midnight, and routed his whole party.—Some Creek Indians, headed by their chiefs, made a furious attack on Wayne's infantry, in the night. For a few minutes,

they possessed themselves of his field-pieces, but they were recovered. In the mean time, Colonel White, with a party of cavalry came up and pressed hard upon them. Both sides engaged in close quarters. The Creeks displayed uncommon bravery, but were at length routed. Shortly after this affair, a period was put to the calamities of war in that state. In three months after the capture of Lord Cornwallis was known in Great Britain, the parliament resolved to abandon all offensive operations in America. In consequence thereof, every idea of conquest being given up, arrangements were made about the middle of July, for withdrawing the royal forces from Georgia, and South Carolina. In about five months after, the British left Georgia, they withdrew their force from South Carolina.

South Carolina and Georgia lost upwards of twenty-four thousand slaves. These retired with the enemy who emancipated them. Slavery is a source of weakness to states. In the revolution, the southern states were unable to cope with the enemy. The population consisted of two classes, the free and the bond. The latter was the most numerous. It had nothing to lose, but much to gain. In the contest between the United States and Great Britain, the blacks were passive spectators.—It was not their interest to take part in the defence of a country which enslaved them, and in which there was nothing that they could call their own. The enemy would have emancipated all of them that would have taken up arms, had not that enemy had many slaves in the West India Islands.

The northern and middle states, in which there were only a few slaves, had from time to time to send troops to the south. These troops kept alive the contest, straitened the enemy's quarters, and at length compelled him to abandon those states. It was otherwise in the northern and middle states. There the white population was considerable. This population had an interest in the soil; it had every thing at stake. That interest led the people to defend the soil. The enemy's army, although more than three times as numerous in these states, could never make any conquests. The enemy knew that the northern and

middle states were the soul of the revolution. They, therefore, exerted themselves to conquer those states, and it was not before they completely failed, that they made attempts to conquer the southern states. The forces employed for this purpose, did not surpass the garrison ordinarily kept at New-York; but with these they took Charleston, Savannah, and other places, and overrun Georgia, the Carolinas, and most of Virginia.—They marched almost where they pleased, and with little opposition, except from the continental troops. After the battle of Camden, most of the inhabitants submitted or declined to act. At Camden, the militia left the field without scarcely opposing the enemy. The hardy veterans of the north were thus borne down by an overwhelming force. At Guilford, Greene and his continentals were forsaken by most of the militia. Those from North Carolina fled when the enemy were at the distance of one hundred and forty yards. Every thing would have been lost, had it not been for the bravery of the continentals; and yet in the battle of Guilford Lord Cornwallis had only two thousand four hundred men. In New-England, New-York, New-Jersey and Pennsylvania, the enemy could not have maintained himself a week with such a force. Lord Cornwallis traversed above one thousand miles of the southern states, with a handful of men. In the northern states, General Burgoyne, with ten thousand, could not penetrate from the head of Lake Champlain to Albany, a distance of only seventy miles. The forces of Lord Cornwallis were never considerable, till his junction with the troops of General Philips, near Richmond, in Virginia, and then they did not much, if any, exceed eight thousand men. This army surrendered to the northern troops and the French. After this event, new troops were sent to the south. These soon compelled the enemy to relinquish every hope of conquest, and ultimately to evacuate all their posts in the south, and retire to the city of New-York, which was their head quarters.

Though in the year 1782, the United States afforded few great events, the reverse was the case with the other powers involved in the consequences of the American war.

Minorca, after a tedious siege, surrendered to the Spaniards, on the fifth of February, 1782. About the same time, the settlements of Demerara and Essequibo, which in the preceding year had been taken by the British, were taken by the French under the Marquis de Bouille. The French also reduced St. Eustatia and St. Kitts. The islands of Nevis and Montserrat followed the fortune of St. Kitts. The marine strength of France and Spain had never been so powerful before in the New World. Their combined navies in the West Indies amounted to sixty ships of the line, besides frigates and other armed vessels. With these they entertained hopes of wresting from the British a great part of their West India Islands.

In the mean time, the British prepared a powerful fleet for the protection of their possessions in that quarter. This was commanded by Admiral Rodney, and amounted, after a junction with Sir Samuel Hood's squadron and the arrival of three ships from Great Britain, to thirty sail of the line.

It was the intention of Count de Grasse, who commanded the French fleet at Martinique, amounting to thirty-four sail of the line, to proceed to Hispaniola, or Hayti, and join the Spanish fleet of sixteen sail of the line, under Don Solano, and then to attempt the reduction of Jamaica. This was in the early part of April.

The British admiral wished to prevent this junction, or at least to force an engagement before it was effected. Admiral Rodney came up with Count de Grasse soon after he had set out to join the Spanish fleet at Hispaniola. Partial engagements took place on the three first days after they came near each other. In these, two of the French ships were so much damaged that they were obliged to quit the fleet. On the fifteenth a general action took place; this was commenced at seven in the morning, and continued till past six in the evening. There was no apparent superiority on either side till between twelve and one o'clock, when Rodney broke the French line of battle, and penetrated through it. The land forces destined for the expedition against Jamaica, amounting to five thousand five hundred men, were distributed on board the French fleet. Their

ships were therefore so crowded, that the slaughter was prodigious. The battle was fought on both sides with equal spirit, but with an unequal issue, owing to the superiority of the British. The fleet of the latter consisted of thirty-six sail of the line, besides frigates; that of the former of thirty-two, exclusive of frigates. The French lost in this action eight sail of the line. This was truly an unfortunate day to the gallant Count de Grasse. His behaviour throughout the whole action was intrepid, and his resistance continued till he and two more were the only men left standing upon the upper deck. The ships of the defeated squadron fled in a variety of directions. Twenty-three or twenty-four sail made their way to Cape Francois. It was fortunate for the Americans that this success of the British was posterior to their loss in Virginia. As the catastrophe of Yorktown closed the national war in the United States, so the defeat of the French fleet in a great measure put a period to hostilities in the West Indies.

The capture of the British army in Virginia, the defeat of the French fleet, and the destruction of the Spanish floating batteries before Gibraltar, inculcated on Great-Britain, France, and Spain, the policy of sheathing the sword, and stopping the effusion of human blood. Each nation found on a review of past events, that their losses were great, and their gains very little or nothing. By urging the American war, Great Britain had increased her national debt four hundred and fifty millions of dollars, and wasted the lives of two hundred thousand men. To add to her mortification she had brought all this on herself by pursuing an object, the attainment of which seemed to be daily less probable. While Great Britain, France, and Spain, were brought to think favourably of peace, the United States had the consolation of a public acknowledgment of their independence by a second power in Europe. This was effected by John Adams, Esq. who was afterwards raised to the exalted station of President of the United States. No individual in the United States ever rendered more important services in the cabinet and councils of the nation than this distinguished person, and no one has ever been more unjustly calumniated, and this

by a portion of his countrymen. In the early part of the year 1781, Mr. Adams had been commissioned to be minister plenipotentiary of Congress to the Netherlands, and was also empowered to negotiate a loan of money. On the nineteenth of April, 1781, very soon after his arrival in that country, he presented to the government a memorial, in which he informed it, that the United States had thought fit to send him a commission, with full power and instructions to confer with the government of the Netherlands concerning a treaty of amity and commerce, and that they had appointed him to be their minister to reside there.

On the twenty-second day of April, 1782, it being about a year after the presentation of this memorial, it was resolved, "That the said Mr. Adams should be acknowledged in quality of minister plenipotentiary." Before this was obtained, much pains had been taken, and much ingenuity had been exerted, to convince the rulers of the Netherlands that they had an interest in connecting themselves with the United States.

Mr. Adams, having gained this point, proceeded on the negotiation of a treaty of amity and commerce between the two countries. This was speedily concluded to the satisfaction of both parties. The same success which attended Mr. Adams in these negotiations, continued to follow him in obtaining a loan of money for his almost exhausted country.

Mr. Jay (who was afterwards successively elevated to the rank of chief justice of the United States, and governor of the state of New-York, and who has suffered equally with Mr. Adams from the calumny of a portion of his countrymen) had for nearly three years past exerted equal abilities and equal industry with Mr. Adams, in endeavouring to negotiate a treaty between the United States and Spain; but his laudable exertions were not crowned with equal success. Mr. Jay had been instructed by Congress, to contend for the right of the United States to the free navigation of the Mississippi. But in February, 1781, when Lord Cornwallis was making rapid progress in overrunning the southern states, Congress, on the recommendation of Virginia, directed him to recede from this part of his in-

structions, so far as they insisted on the free navigation of the Mississippi, below latitude thirty-one degrees, and on a free port or ports below the same. These propositions were made to the ministers of Spain, but not accepted.

On the twelfth day of December, 1781, it was moved in the house of commons, that a resolution should be adopted declaring it to be their opinion, "That all further attempts to reduce the United States by force, would be ineffectual, and injurious to the interests of Great Britain;" but no resolution disapproving its further prosecution, could yet obtain the assent of a majority of the members. On the twenty-second day of February, 1782, it was again moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he will be pleased to give directions to his ministers, not to pursue any longer the impracticable object of reducing his majesty's revolted colonies by force, to their allegiance, by war, on the continent of America." This was lost by a single vote.

General Conway, who had brought up the preceding motion, brought forward another on the twenty-seventh day of the same month, to the same effect. This occasioned a long debate. It was then moved to adjourn the debate till the 13th of March, in the following month, but there was a small majority against it.

The original motion and address to the king, formed upon the resolution, were then carried without a division, and the address was ordered to be presented by the whole house.

To this his majesty answered, "That in pursuance of their advice, he would take such measures as should appear to him the most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the colonies." This answer being unsatisfactory to the house, General Conway moved another resolution, which was to the following effect: "That the house would consider as enemies to his majesty and the kingdom, all those who should advise, or by any means attempt the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of America, for the purpose of reducing the colonies to obedience by force." This motion was carried without a division. This resolution and the pre-

ceding address may be considered as the closing scene of the American war. As it was made a parliamentary war, by an address from Parliament for its prosecution, in 1775, it now was no longer so, by an address from the most numerous branch of the same Parliament, in February, 1782, for its discontinuance. A change of the ministry was the consequence of the change of that political system, which for seven years had directed the affairs of Great Britain. A new administration was formed under the auspices of the Marquis of Rockingham, and was composed of characters who opposed the American war. This was about the first of July, 1782. The Marquis dying soon after, was succeeded by Earl Shelburne. To remove constitutional impediments to negotiate with the late British colonies, an act of Parliament was passed, granting to the crown powers for negotiating or concluding a general or particular peace or truce, with the whole or with any part of the colonies, and for setting aside all former laws, whose operation was in contravention to that purpose.

Sir Guy Carleton, who had lately been appointed to the chief command of the royal army in North America, was instructed to use his best endeavours, for carrying into effect the wishes of Great Britain, for an accommodation with the Americans. He, therefore, in May, 1782, dispatched a letter to Washington, informing him of the late proceedings of Parliament, and of the dispositions so favourable to the United States, which were prevalent in Great Britain, and at the same time solicited a passport for his Secretary, Mr. Morgan, to pay a visit to Congress. His request was refused. The application for it, with its concomitant circumstances, were considered as introductory to a scheme for opening negotiations with Congress or the states without the concurrence of their allies. This caused no small alarm, and gave rise to sundry resolutions, by which several states declared, that a proposition from the enemy to all or any of the states for peace or a truce, separate from their allies, was inadmissible. Congress resolved, that they would not enter into the discussion of any overtures for pacification, but in confidence and in concert with Louis XVI. his most christian

majesty. This conduct extinguished all hopes, that great Britain might have entertained, of making a separate peace with the United States. The disposition of Great Britain, however, to acknowledge the independence of the United States, had removed the principal difficulty, which had hitherto obstructed a general pacification. Seven years experience had proved to the nation, that the conquest of America was impracticable; they now received equal conviction, that the recognition of the independence of the United States, was an indispensible preliminary to the termination of a war, from the continuance of which, neither profit or honour was to be acquired. The pride of Great Britain for a long time resisted, but that passion was obliged to yield to the superior influence of interest. The feelings of the nation were no longer to be controlled by the honour of ministers.

Independence, which was neither thought of nor wished for by the United States in the years 1774 and 1775, became in the year 1776, their favourite object. A recognition of this, which throughout the war had been the object of abhorrence to the British nation, became in the year 1782; a popular measure in Great Britain, as the means of putting an end to a ruinous war.

In the year 1782, there was a barbarous and unprovoked massacre of the civilized Indians, settled on the upper parts of the Muskingum, (in the state of Ohio). The cruelties of the Americans on this occasion, equalled the barbarities of the tories and Indians at Wyoming. The Indians on the Muskingum, under the influence of some pious missionaries of the Moravians, had been formed into a considerable degree of civil and religious order. They abhorred war, and would take no part therein, giving for reason, that "the Great Spirit did not make men to destroy men, but to love and assist each other." From a love of peace and friendship to the human family, they advised their countrymen, who were inclined to make war on the whites, to desist. They were also induced, from principles of humanity, to give intelligence to the white people of their danger, when they knew that their settlements were about to be invaded. This conduct

provoked the hostile Indians to such a degree, that they carried these pacific people quite away from the banks of the Muskingum to those of the Sandusky, (in the same state). They finding corn dear and scarce in their new habitations, obtained liberty from their countrymen, to return in the autumn of the same year to Muskingum, in order to gather the crops they had planted before their removal.

When the white people, at and near the river Monongahelia, in Pennsylvania and Virginia, heard that the pacific Indians had returned to the Moravian towns, and were engaged in harvesting their corn, they gave out that their intentions were hostile. They accordingly, to the number of one hundred and sixty, assembled, and after crossing the Ohio, they proceeded to the Muskingum, and put to death these inoffensive unsuspecting people, though no resistance was made. Agreeably to their religious principles, these Indians patiently submitted to their hard fate, without attempting to destroy their savage murderers. The number slaughtered exceeded ninety. The perfidy of the conquerors is not surpassed in the annals of savage warfare. These Indians were deliberately murdered, the next morning after they had been taken.

Soon after this wanton and unprovoked massacre, a party of the Americans set out for Sandusky, to destroy the Indian towns in that part; but the Delawares, Wyandots and other Indians opposed them with heroic courage; an engagement ensued, in which the Americans were defeated, and several made prisoners. Among the latter was Colonel Crawford, the commander. The colonel and the prisoners were all put to death. The Indians, on this occasion, retaliated for the murder of their countrymen, at the Moravian towns on the Muskingum.

During the revolutionary war, the desolation brought by the Indians, on the border settlements of the United States, and on the Indian towns near those border settlements by the whites, were such as to excite commiseration in the most obdurate hearts.

Not only the men and warriors, but the women and children, and whole districts were involved in promiscuous desolations,

The feelings of humanity were often suppressed, and full reign given to the most savage passions.

The commissioners for negociating peace, on the part of the United States, were John Adams, who afterwards was President of the United States, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, who afterwards was governor of New-York, and Henry Laurens. On the part of Great Britain, Mr. Fitzherbert, and Mr. Oswald. Provisional articles of peace, between Great Britain and the United States, were agreed upon by these gentlemen, which were to be inserted in a future treaty of peace, to be finally concluded between the parties, when that between Great Britain and France took place. By these, the independence of the United States was acknowledged. This was about the thirtieth of November, 1782. Ample boundaries were allowed them, which comprehended the extensive countries, on both sides of the Ohio, and on the east side of the Mississippi. An unlimited right of fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, and on other places, where both nations had heretofore been accustomed to fish, was likewise confirmed to the Americans. Five days after these provisional articles were signed, the British Parliament met. They underwent a severe parliamentary discussion.

The ministers of the United States procured for their countrymen better terms than they had reason to expect. From the necessity of the case, the loyalists were sacrificed nothing farther than a simple recommendation for restitution being stipulated in their favour. The case of the loyalists was a hard one, but unavoidable from the complex constitution of the United States. The American ministers engaged as far as they were authorised; and Congress simply recommended their case to the several states. In conformity to the letter and spirit of the treaty, Congress urged the propriety of making restitution to the loyalists, but to procure it was beyond their power.

Treatment of Prisoners, &c.—The first American prisoners were taken on the seventeenth of June, 1775. These were thrown into the jail at Boston, without regard to rank. Washington wrote to General Gage on this subject, but without effect.

Sir Guy Carleton conducted himself towards the American prisoners with humanity, which reflected honour on his character. Before he commenced his operations on Lake Champlain, in 1776, he shipped off those of them who were officers, for New-England, but previously supplied them with things to make them comfortable while on their voyage. The soldiers, amounting to eight hundred, were sent home by a flag, after exacting an oath from them not to serve during the war, unless exchanged. Many of these being almost naked, were clothed by his orders.

The capture of General Lee proved calamitous to several individuals. Six Hessian officers were offered in exchange for him, but this was refused. The British treated Lee as a deserter: he was confined and guarded. Congress directed Washington to notify General Howe, that should the proffered exchange of General Lee for six field-officers not be accepted, and the treatment of him be continued, the principles of retaliation should occasion five of the said Hessian field-officers, together with Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, to be detained, in order that the said treatment which Lee received should be inflicted on their persons. General Howe refusing to accept the proffers, or relent Lee's treatment, the resolution of Congress was carried into effect.

The prisoners captured by Sir William Howe, in 1777, amounted to several thousands. The officers were admitted to parole, and had some waste houses assigned to them as quarters, but the privates were shut up in the coldest season of the year in churches, sugar-houses, and other large open buildings. The severity of the weather, and the rigour of their treatment, occasioned the death of many of these unfortunate men. The filth of the places of their confinement, in consequence of fluxes which prevailed among them, was both offensive and dangerous. Seven dead bodies have been seen in a single building at one time, and all lying in a situation shocking to humanity. The provisions served out to them were deficient in quantity, and of an unwholesome quality. After Washington's successes at Trenton and Princeton, the American prisoners fared better.

Those who survived were ordered to be sent out for exchange, but some of them fell down dead in the streets, while attempting to walk to the vessels. Others were so emaciated, that their appearance was horrible.

The American sailors, when captured by the British, suffered more than the soldiers. They were crowded on board prison-ships in such numbers, and their accommodations were so wretched, that diseases broke out, and swept them off in such a manner as to excite compassion in breasts of the least sensibility. It has been asserted that, in the last six years of the war, upwards of eleven thousand persons died on board the Jersey, one of the prison-ships, which was stationed in East River, near New-York. This number, it is probable, is considerably overrated. It is, however, certain that several thousand died in that period on board of that ship, and that the rights of sepulture were never, or but imperfectly conferred. For some time after the war, their bones lay whitening in the sun, on the shore of Long Island.

The operations of treason laws added to the calamities of the war. Individuals on both sides, while they were doing no more than they supposed to be their duty, were involved in the penal consequences of capital crimes. The Americans, in conformity to the policy of nations, demanded the allegiance of all who resided among them, but many of these preferred the royal government, and were disposed to support it. While they acted in conformity to these sentiments, the laws enacted for the security of the new government condemned them to death. Hard is the lot of a people involved in civil war; for in such circumstances, the lives of individuals may not only be legally forfeited, but justly taken from those who have acted from a sense of duty. Of all wars, civil wars are most to be deprecated: they are attended with the bitterest resentments. In Europe, where military operations are carried on by armies hired for the purpose, the people do not partake so widely in its calamities; but in America, where every able-bodied man was enrolled in the militia, and where both sides endeavoured to strengthen themselves by oaths and by laws denouncing the penalties of treason

on those who aided the opposite party, the sufferings of individuals were renewed as often as fortune varied her standard. Each side claimed the co-operation of the inhabitants, and was ready to punish when it was withheld.

In the first institution of the American governments, the boundaries of authority were not properly fixed. Committees exercised legislative, executive, and judicial powers. These committees often injured the cause of America. In many instances the members used their power improperly. Private resentments were often covered under the specious veil of patriotism. The sufferers, in passing over to the royalists, carried over with them a keen remembrance of the vengeance of committees, and, when opportunities offered, retaliated. One instance of severity begat another, and they continued to increase in a proportion that doubled the evils of war. From one unadvised step, individuals were often involved in the loss of their property. Some, from present appearances, apprehending that the British would conquer, repaired to their standard. Their return after the partial storm, which intimidated them to submission, had blown over, was always difficult, and often impossible. Inadvertent offences were rarely forgiven. Thus, from error in judgment on one side, and that unrelenting spirit of forgiveness on the other, such were often obliged to seek safety by continuing to support the enemy. The embarrassments on both sides, owing to spies and secret informers, were often so great, that men could not tell what course it was best to pursue. Those who made up their minds on the nature of the contest, and invariably pursued one course, were the best off, since they enjoyed self-approbation. Those who changed with the times often missed their object. The whigs were exasperated against those of their fellow-citizens who joined their enemies, with a resentment which was far more bitter than that which they harboured against their European adversaries. Feeling that the whole strength of the states was hardly sufficient to protect them against the British, they could not brook the desertion of their countrymen to invading foreigners. They seldom would give them credit for acting from principle, but generally supposed

them to be influenced either by cowardice or interest, and were therefore inclined to proceed against them with extreme rigour. The royalists raised the cry of persecution, and loudly complained that, merely for supporting the government under which they were born, and to which they owed natural allegiance, they were doomed to suffer all the penalties due to capital offenders. Those of them who acted from principle, felt no consciousness of guilt, and could not but look with abhorrence upon a government, which inflicted such severe punishments on what they deemed a laudable line of conduct. Humanity would shudder at a particular recital of the calamities which the whigs inflicted on the tories, and the tories on the whigs. They, for the most part, on both sides, consoled themselves with the belief that they were acting or suffering in a good cause. Though the rules of moral right and wrong never vary, political innocence and guilt change so much with circumstances, that the innocence of the sufferer and of the party that punishes are often compatible.

The distresses of the American prisoners in the southern states were great towards the close of the war. Colonel Campbell, who reduced Savannah, though he had been very illy treated by order of Congress when he was prisoner, treated all the Americans who fell into his hands with mildness and humanity. The American prisoners, with a few exceptions, had but little to complain of, till after the defeat of General Gates. Soon after that event, sundry of them were sent into exile. When an exchange of prisoners was effected, the wives and children of those inhabitants of Charleston and the adjoining parts, who adhered to the American cause, were exiled to Virginia and other places, to the number of one thousand. This severe treatment was the occasion of retaliating on the families of those who had taken part with the British. Governor Rutledge ordered that the families of such as adhered to the royal cause, should be sent within the British lines. By this order, several hundreds of helpless women and children were reduced to great distress.

The refugees who had fled to the city of New-York were

formed into an association, under Sir Henry Clinton, for the purpose of retaliating on the Americans, and for reimbursing the losses they had sustained from their countrymen. The depredations they committed in their excursions were extensive. Towards the close of the war, they began to retaliate on a bolder scale. Captain Joshua Huddy, who commanded a small party of Americans, at a block-house, in the county of Monmouth, and state of New-Jersey, was taken prisoner by a party of refugees. He was brought to the city of New-York, and there imprisoned fifteen days, and then told that he was sentenced to be hanged. Four days after, he was sent out with a party of refugees, and hanged on the heights of Middletown. The following label was affixed on his breast,—"We, the refugees, having long with grief beheld the cruel murders of our brethren, and finding nothing but such measures daily carrying into execution; we, therefore, are determined not to suffer without taking vengeance for the numerous cruelties, thus begin, and have made use of Captain Huddy as the first object to present to your view, and further determine to hang man for man while there is a refugee existing. Up goes Huddy for Philip White!"

Washington resolved on retaliation for this murder, but instead of immediately executing a British officer, he wrote to Sir Henry Clinton that, unless the perpetrators were given up, he should be under the necessity of retaliating. The former being refused, Captain Asgill was designated by lot for that purpose, but his execution was not carried into effect. Sir Guy Carleton, the successor of Sir Henry Clinton, broke up this board of royalists, and being a man of great humanity and excellent character, prevented repetitions of similar excesses. The prisoners, after he assumed the command of the British army at New-York, were treated with respect and clemency.

Discharge of the American army.—While the citizens of the United States were anticipating the blessings of peace, their army, which had stemmed the tide of the British victories, was unrewarded for its meritorious services. The states, which had been rescued by their exertions from a foreign yoke, were in

no condition to pay their stipulated due. To dismiss officers and soldiers, who had spent the prime of their lives in serving their country without an equivalent for their labours, and without even a sufficiency to enable them to gain a decent living, was a hard case. An attempt was made, by anonymous and seditious publications, to inflame the minds of the officers and soldiers, and induce them to unite in redressing their own grievances, while they had arms in their hands. This was March tenth, 1783. As soon as Washington was informed of the nature of these papers, he requested the General and field-officers, with one officer from each company, and a representation from the staff of the army, to assemble at an early hour, on the fifteenth of the same month. He rightly judged, that it would be much easier to divert them from a wrong to a right path, than to recall hasty steps after once taken. The period previous to the meeting of the officers, was improved in preparing them for the adoption of moderate measures. Washington sent for one officer after another, and conversed with them in private, on the fatal consequences, and particularly on the loss of character to the whole army, which would result from intemperate resolutions. When the officers were convened, Washington addressed them, in a speech well calculated to calm their minds. He also pledged himself to exert all his abilities and influence in their favour, and requested them to rely on the faith of their country, and conjured them, as they valued their honor—as they respected the rights of humanity, and as they regarded the military and national character of America, to express their utmost detestation of the man, who was attempting to open the flood-gates of discord, and deluge their rising empire with blood. This speech had the desired effect. The moment was seized while the minds of the officers, softened by the eloquence of the illustrious chief, were in a pliable state, and a resolution was unanimously adopted, by which they declared, that no circumstance of distress or danger should induce a conduct that might tend to sully the reputation and glory they had acquired; that the army continued to have an unshaken confidence in the justice of Congress and their

country, and that they viewed with abhorrence, and rejected with disdain, the infamous propositions in the late anonymous address to the officers of the army. The author of the address has consigned his name to infamy. Too much praise cannot be given to Washington for the patriotism, which marked his conduct in this transaction.

To avoid the inconveniences of dismissing a great number of soldiers in a body, furloughs were granted to individuals, and after their dispersion, they were not enjoined to return. The granting of furloughs commenced, May twenty-sixth, 1783. By this arrangement, a critical moment was got over. A great part of an army was disbanded and dispersed over the states, without tumult or disorder. The privates generally betook themselves to labour, and crowned the merit of being good soldiers, by becoming good citizens. Several of the officers, who had been bred mechanics, resumed their trades. As the soldiers had been easily formed in 1775 out of farmers and mechanics, so with equal ease in the year 1783, they dropped the character of soldiers, and resumed their former occupations. About eighty of the Pennsylvania levies formed an exception to the peaceable disposition of the army. These, in defiance of their officers, set out from Lancaster, and marched to Philadelphia, to seek a redress of their grievances from the executive council of that state. This was on the twentieth of June, 1783. The mutineers persisted in their march, till they arrived at Philadelphia. There they were joined by some other troops. The whole, amounting to three hundred men, marched with fixed bayonets and drums to the state-house, in which the Congress and the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania held their sessions. They placed guards at every door, and sent in a written message to the president and council of the state, and threatened them, if their demands were not complied with in twenty minutes. The situation of the Congress, though they were not the particular object of the soldiers' resentment, was far from agreeable. About three hours after, the Congress retired, and soon afterwards left Philadelphia, and fixed on Princeton in New-Jersey, as the place of their

next meeting. Washington, on being apprised of this, sent a numerous detachment of his army to Philadelphia, to quell the mutineers. Several were taken and tried, and sentenced to death, but subsequently they were pardoned.

Congress, on the eighteenth of October, 1783, issued a proclamation, in which the armies of the United States were applauded for their fortitude, bravery, and good conduct during the war. Congress then declared, that such part of the armies as stood engaged to serve during the war, should, from and after the third of November, in the following month, be discharged. On the second day of November, it being the day preceding their dismission, Washington issued his farewell orders. After commending the officers and soldiers for their bravery, constancy, and good conduct, he gave them his advice respecting their future conduct; and bidding them farewell, he concluded with these words: "May ample justice be done to you here, and may the choicest of heaven's favours, both here and hereafter, attend you, who, under the Divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for your countrymen. With these wishes, and this benediction, the commander-in-chief is about to retire from service; the curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene will to him be closed for ever."

With great exertions, four months' pay, in part of several years' arrearages, was given to the army.

The evacuation of the city of New-York, and the adjacent posts, took place on the twenty-fifth of November, in the same month. For twelve months preceding, there had been an unrestrained communication between that city and the country. The bitterness of war passed away, and civilities were interchanged between the Americans and British. Washington and the governor of New-York, with their suites, made a public entry into the city of New-York, as soon as the British army was withdrawn. The lieutenant-governor, and members of the council, the officers of the American army and the citizens, followed in procession. In the evening there was a display of fire-works, which exceeded every thing of the kind before seen in the United States.

The hour now approached, in which it became necessary for Washington to take leave of his officers. This was done in a solemn manner. Washington addressed them—"with a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you; I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honourable." The officers came up successively, and he took leave of each. When this scene was over, Washington proceeded to the place of embarkation, passing through a corps of infantry. The officers followed in solemn procession, with dejected countenances. On his entering the barge to cross the Hudson, he turned towards the companions of his glory, and by waving his hat, bid them a silent adieu.

Washington, on the approaching dissolution of the army, by a circular letter to the governors of the individual states, gave his parting advice to his countrymen, and, with the charms of eloquence, inculcated the necessity of union, justice, and subordination, and of such principles and practice as their new situation required.

The army being disbanded, Washington proceeded to Annapolis, in Maryland, then the seat of Congress, to resign his commission. On his way thither he delivered to the Comptroller in Philadelphia, an account of all the public money he had ever received. This was in his own handwriting. The whole sum, which in the course of the war, had passed through his hands, amounted only to 14,479*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* sterling, a sum equivalent to 63,711 dollars and 72 cents. Nothing was charged or retained as a reward for personal services, and actual disbursements had been managed with such economy and fidelity, that they were all covered by the above sum.

In every town and village through which the illustrious chief passed, he was met by public and private demonstrations of gratitude and joy. When he arrived at Annapolis, on the nineteenth day of December, he informed Congress of his intention to ask leave to resign the commission he had the honour to hold in their service, and desired to know their pleasure in what manner it would be most proper to be done. They resolved, that

it should be done in a public audience. When the day (which was the twenty-third of December) fixed for that purpose arrived, a great number of persons attended. At a proper moment, Washington addressed Thomas Mifflin, the President, in the following words :

"Mr. President,

"The great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

"Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven.

"The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations, and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

"While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings, not to acknowledge in this place, the peculiar service and distinguished merits of the persons who had been attached to my person during the war; it was impossible the choice of confidential officers, to compose my family, should have been more fortunate; permit me sir, to recommend in particular, those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of Congress.

"I consider it as an indispensible duty, to close this last and solemn act of my official life, by commending the interest of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them, to His holy keeping.

"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

To this the President, Mr. Mifflin, returned the following answer:

"The United States in Congress assembled receive, with emotion too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success, through a perilous and doubtful war.

"Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you had accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without friends or a government to support you.

"You have conducted the great military forces with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes. You have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity; you have persevered, till these United States, aided by a magnanimous and powerful nation, have been enabled, under a just Providence, to close the war in freedom, safety and independence; on which happy event we sincerely join you in congratulations.

"Having defended the standard of liberty in this New World —having taught a lesson, useful to those who inflict, and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action with the blessings of your fellow-citizens; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command—it will continue to animate the remotest ages. We feel with you our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interest of those confidential officers who have attended your person to this affecting moment.

"We join you in commending the interest of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching Him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable

nation. And for you, we address to Him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved may be fostered with all his care; that your days may be happy as they have been illustrious, and that He will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give."

The mingled emotions that agitated the minds of the spectators during this affecting scene were indescribable. Immediately on resigning his commission, Washington hastened, with ineffable delight, to his seat at Mount Vernon, on the Virginia side of the Potomac.

To pass suddenly from the toils of the first public commission in the United States to the care of a farm; to exchange the instruments of war for the implements of husbandry, would to most men have been a difficult task; but to the elevated mind of Washington it was natural and delightful. The commanders of armies may learn from his example, that the fame which is acquired in the field without guilt or ambition, can be preserved without power or splendor in private life.

See Ramsey's History of the Revolutionary War, &c.

CHAPTER XIII.

Controversy with Vermont resumed—New-York consents to relinquish all claims to Vermont—Boundary between the two states fixed—The causes which led to the settlement of the western country—Cession of the Genesee country by the Government of New-York to that of Massachusetts—Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham purchase the country of Genesee from Massachusetts—Military lands—Mr. Hugh White, the pioneer of the western country, settles at Saughdaghquada, now Whitesborough, in the county of Oneida—Settlement made at Onondaga Hollow by Mr. Webster.—Settlements made at Seneca Falls in Seneca county, and at East Cayuga in Cayuga county—Cooperstown, in Otsego county, founded, and Oxford, in the county of Chenango—Oliver Phelps sets out from Gorham, in Massachusetts, for the Genesee country—His arrival at Canandaigua—He negotiates a treaty with the Senecas, and purchases large tracts of land from them—O. Phelps founds Canandaigua, and opens a land office—Geneva founded—Pittsford, Geneseo, and other places, founded—Ontario erected into a county—Road made from the settlements of Whitestown via Oneida, Canasaraga, Onondaga, Cayuga and Geneva to Canandaigua—Onondaga erected into a county—Population of the western country in 1800—Emigrations to the counties on and near the Hudson—Obstacles thrown in the way of emigrants—Act for the sale of the unappropriated lands.

THE controversy between New-York and Vermont resumed. The resolves of Congress did not meet the expectations of the government of New-York. The legislature, on the fifteenth and nineteenth of November, passed a number of resolves, and entered a solemn protest against the resolves made by Congress. The resolves of that body, it would seem, had been dif-

ferent from what had been expected by the leading men of New-York, but such perhaps as equity, under all the circumstances presented, might have required. It was necessary that the persons and property of the Vermontese should be protected against invasions under assumed rights. The New-Hampshire grants, by every rule of natural right, ought to be confirmed. New-York had refused to do this, but, nevertheless, had submitted the matter to Congress. The claims of New-York, so far as respected sovereignty and jurisdiction, were plain, and so they were in respect to the grants. The Indigines had never been consulted as to the soil; the lands were vacant. Circumstanced as they were, the colonial government and its successors had no natural right to disposess men who had went on to them, and made improvements. The grounds which the rulers of New-York had all along taken, were such as to preclude the idea of conciliation. The delegates were instructed to enter their dissent; which they did, and this after the submission to that body.

The disaffection was not confined to the district claimed by New-York; it spread over the western towns of New-Hampshire.

About the same time, the governor of New-York ordered out a detachment of militia, to suppress, as was alleged, a combination formed by the people living in some of the towns contiguous to the New-York boundary, to obstruct the due execution of the laws. Brigadier-general Gansevoort, who had distinguished himself at the siege of Fort Stanwix, was sent out upon this service. This officer marched with the militia to the town of Hoosack, where a Mr. Walbridge had assembled a considerable body of the Vermontese, for the purpose of opposing the sheriff and his abettors, in the execution of the law in respect of ejectment recoveries.

General Gansevoort addressed a note to Mr. Walbridge, in which he gave him to understand that he must disband his men, and return home, otherwise he would be treated as an insurgent. Walbridge temporised, and spun out the time, so that nothing was done on either side; and the New-York militia gradually disbanded themselves, and returned home.

The assembly of Vermont met in the month of February, 1782, at Bennington, and after considerable debates in relation to their condition, came to the following conclusion, on the 22d of the same month:

"The recommendation of the grand committee, consisting of the governor, the honorable the council, and the representatives of the people, on taking into consideration the resolutions of Congress respecting this state, in the month of August last, being read, is as follows: "That in the sense of this committee, Congress, by their resolution of August last, in guaranteeing to the states of New-Hampshire and New-York, respectively, all the territory without certain limits therein expressed, has eventually determined the boundaries of this state. And whereas, it appears to this committee consistent with the spirit, true intent and meaning, of the articles of union entered into by this state, with the inhabitants of a certain district of country, on the east side of the west bank of Connecticut river, and on the west side of a line twenty miles east of Hudson's river; which articles of union were executed on the twenty-fifth of February, and the 15th of June last, that Congress should consider and determine the boundary lines of the state: it is recommended to the legislature of this state, to pass resolutions declaring their acquiescence in, and accession to, the determination made by Congress, of the boundary lines between the states of New-Hampshire and New-York, respectively, and this state, as they are in such resolutions defined and described: and also expressly relinquishing all claims to jurisdiction over the said districts of territory, without said boundary lines, and the inhabitants thereon residing.

"Confiding in the faith and wisdom of Congress, they will immediately enter on measures to carry into effect the other matters in the said resolution contained; and settle the same on equitable terms, whereby this state may be received into, and have and enjoy all the protection, rights and advantages, of a union with the United States, as free, independent and sovereign states, as is held forth to us in and by the said resolutions.

"And that the assembly cause official information of their resolutions, to be immediately transmitted to the Congress of the United States, and to the states of New-York and New-Hampshire.

"Whereupon, resolved, that the foregoing recommendation be complied with; and that the west bank of Connecticut river and a line, beginning at the northwest corner of the state of Massachusetts, from thence northward twenty miles east of Hudson's river, as specified in the resolutions of Congress, in August last, be considered as the east and west boundaries of this state. That this assembly do hereby relinquish all claims and demands to, and right of jurisdiction over, any and every district of territory without said boundary lines. That authentic copies of this resolution be forthwith sent to Congress, and to the states of New-York and New-Hampshire, respectively." Such was the recommendation of the committee, and the resolution of the assembly. Both construed the resolves of Congress, which were merely recommendatory to the states of New-York and New-Hampshire, as determining the controversy, and establishing a new state.

The legislature of Vermont had been led to the adoption of this measure, in consequence of a letter, bearing date, January first, 1782, from General Washington to Mr. Chittenden, the then governor. In this letter he says, "it is not my business, neither do I think it necessary now to discuss the origin of the right of a number of inhabitants to that tract of country, formerly distinguished by the name of the New-Hampshire grants, and now known by that of Vermont. I will take it for granted, that their right was good, because Congress, by their resolve of the seventh of August, imply it, and by that of the twenty-first, are willing fully to confirm it, provided the new state is confined to certain prescribed bounds. It appears, therefore, to me, that the dispute of boundary is the only one that exists, and that being removed, all other difficulties would be removed also; and the matter terminated. You have nothing to do, but withdraw your jurisdiction to the

confines of your own limits, and obtain an acknowledgment of independence and sovereignty under the resolve of August, for so much territory, as does not interfere with the ancient established bounds of New-York, New-Hampshire and Massachusetts. In my private opinion, while it behooves the delegates to do ample justice to a body of people, sufficiently respectable by their numbers, and entitled by other claims to be admitted into the confederation; it becomes them also to attend to the interest of these constituents, and see that, under the appearance of justice to one, they do not materially injure the rights of others. I am apt to think, that this is the prevailing opinion of Congress."

Such were the opinions expressed by the father of his country. They had great weight, and were received almost as laws. They changed the views of a body of men, who, although they had been contending for their dearest rights, had set laws at defiance, and had disregarded the opinions of Congress, expressed in resolves.

The legislature of Vermont, after having passed the aforesaid resolves, proceeded, and chose four delegates to represent that state in Congress. These were commissioned with plenary powers, to negotiate the admission of Vermont into the American confederation. Only two of the delegates were to take seats, in case of admission.

In the mean time, Congress took up the subject again; the refusal of the assembly in October, to comply with the resolutions Congress had made in August, was viewed in a very unfavourable light, and excited considerable indignation. Indeed the refusal, accompanied with inflammatory resolves, setting that body and all others at defiance, afforded but too just grounds.

On March first, it was proposed in Congress to pass a resolve, that if, within one month from the time in which the resolve should be communicated to Thomas Chittenden, the governor, they should comply with the resolves of August seventh and twentieth, 1781, they should be immediately admitted into the Union; but if they should refuse this, and did not desist from

attempting to exercise jurisdiction over the lands guaranteed to New-York and New-Hampshire, Congress would consider such neglect or refusal, as a manifest indication of designs hostile to the United States, and that all the pretensions and applications of the said inhabitants, heretofore made for admission into the Union, were fallacious and delusive; and that thereupon the forces of the United States should be employed against the inhabitants, and Congress would consider all the lands within the territory to the eastward of the ridge of mountains, as guaranteed to the state of New-Hampshire, and all the lands to the westward of said line, as guaranteed to New-York; and that the commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, should without delay or further order, carry the same into effect. But after some animated debates, the resolution was laid upon the table, and indefinitely postponed.

On the thirty-first of March, the delegates from Vermont laid before Congress the resolutions of the assembly of that state, in which they claimed a compliance with the resolves of Congress of August seventh and twentieth, and requested to be admitted into the confederation as an independent and sovereign state. Congress referred the matter to a committee of five of their members. On the seventeenth of April, the committee made the following report: "in the sense of your committee, the people of the said district, by the last recited act, appear to have complied with the stipulation made and required of them in the resolutions of the twentieth and twenty-first of August, as preliminary to a recognition of their sovereignty and independence, and admission into the union of these states. And that the conditional promise and engagement of Congress of such recognition and admission, is thereby become absolute, and necessary to be performed.

"Your committee, therefore, submit the following resolution:

"That the district of territory called Vermont, as defined and limited in the resolutions of Congress of the twentieth and twenty-first of August, 1781, be, and it is hereby recognized and acknowledged by the name of the state of Vermont, as a free, sovereign, and independent state; and that a committee

be appointed to treat and confer with the agents and delegates from the said state of Vermont, upon the terms and mode of the admission of the said state into the Union."

When this report was read in Congress, a motion was made and seconded, that the first Tuesday in October following be assigned for the consideration of the report; the vote passed in the negative. A motion was then made and seconded, that the third Tuesday in June next, be assigned for the consideration of the report; the vote was again in the negative. A motion was then made and seconded, that Monday next be assigned for the consideration of the report. This vote passed in the negative.

From these votes, it is apparent that Congress were averse to a course, different from that contained in their resolutions of August twentieth and twenty first, 1781.

The interference of Congress closed about this time. In the autumn of the same year, the Vermontese assembly appointed agents, with full powers and instructions to renew their application for admission into the Union, but Congress refused to have any thing to do in the premises. Great Britain had concluded a peace with the United States, and had in the treaty, renounced all her claims to the contested territory. Congress might have coerced the Vermontese to a compliance, or to return to their allegiance to the state of New-York; but that body deemed it expedient to let things rest, hoping in the mean time, that the passions of those concerned in the dispute would be assuaged, and that peace and harmony would follow.

Such was the situation of Vermont at the close of 1783. Some of the inhabitants were strongly attached to the government of New-York, but the great body of the people were, and had always been, opposed to it. Their opposition did not, however, originate in a dislike to the government, but to the measures pursued in relation to their lands. The colonial and state governments had pursued the same course in regard to the lands. The Vermontese held under grants made by New-Hampshire. They had an important interest at stake—they contended for their fire-places and altars. The government of

New-York ought to have confirmed the grants—justice required it. They had been made under the faith of government; the people had settled upon them, made improvements, and erected habitations. The lands cost New-York nothing, nor would the coffers of the province or state have been filled, or even benefited by the vacation of the grants. The wild lands of this state have in general been frittered away, and the New-Hampshire grants would have shared the same fate. Population, agriculture, and commerce, strengthen states, and replenish their coffers—not a few land jobbers or speculators.

From 1783 to 1790 the controversy remained almost dormant. The state of New-York neither pressed nor relinquished her claims to the territory. Much of the asperities between the parties abated. Public opinion in New-York, as well as the adjoining states, inclined towards the Vermontese. Almost the only complaints heard, came from the owners of lands granted by New-York. The Vermontese had never recognised the New-York grants, and in most instances had re-granted the lands.

The claimants under New-York laboured to obtain an equivalent, but without effect. The government of New-York was unable or unwilling to lend its aid. It wished to back out of imprudent and impolitic measures, which were every day becoming more and more unpopular. All it could and did do, was to recommend. During this period, Vermont constituted a separate government. It was neither represented in Congress, nor was it acknowledged by Congress.

On the fifteenth of July, 1789, the legislature of the state of New-York came to a determination to renounce the rights, both of jurisdiction and sovereignty, to the tract of country called Vermont, and to acknowledge its independence. A law was, accordingly, passed to that effect. Commissioners were appointed with full powers to run and settle the boundaries, and all other matters in dispute. The assembly of Vermont, on the twenty-third of October, in the same year, also appointed commissioners to meet those of New-York. The commissioners met, and, after some conferences, came to an adjustment in respect to boundaries and all matters in difference. Thirty thou-

sand dollars were fixed upon as an equivalent for the lands claimed by people in New-York.

Thus ended a controversy which had lasted upwards of twenty years, and which might have been settled by a single law in its very onset. New-York, had she limited her views to jurisdiction and liberal and enlightened policy, might still have possessed this fertile section of America. But, after all, perhaps at this day there may be no cause of regret—we think there ought to be none. New-York, as a state, has still ample territory, a growing population, and great resources, which are annually unfolding themselves. In a republic like that of the United States, composed of sovereign states, it is better that none of these be too extensive, otherwise a time may come when the liberties of the smaller may be endangered.

We shall now return to the more intimate affairs of the state, and show the causes that gave rise to its present greatness.

The revolution which separated the United States from Great Britain, excited in the people a spirit of enterprise and emulation which had hitherto laid dormant. It enlarged their views, and opened to them new and extensive fields for action. Among the fields thus opened, no one presented so wide a range for enterprise and exertion as the state of New-York. Her most fertile and valuable lands were then overspread with forests and unoccupied. The inducements which these held out to enterprising emigrants were too alluring to be resisted. Before the war the richness and importance of these lands were unknown, unless to some Indian traders, whose interests led them to conceal. The people of the different states composing the American confederation, were but little acquainted with one another anterior to the revolution. The states, while they were colonies, if we except those of New-England, never confederated for their mutual defence. The intercourse between the several states was casual. Distinct interests existed. These opposed powerful obstacles to enterprise. The New-England states were settled by one people. These, as early as the year 1643, entered into a union for their mutual defence and security. The union consisted of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Hartford and

New-Haven. Public affairs were transacted by commissioners appointed by the members of this union. These convened from time to time. They regulated all their internal concerns, and provided for their defence against the Indians. All their wars with the natives were carried on under the direction of the commissioners, and by the united forces of the colonies. This gave energy, weight and decision to every thing which they undertook. In New-York it was otherwise. The original settlers were Dutch. These, though equally enterprising with their neighbours of New-England, were depressed by a change of government which ensued in 1664. After the surrender the English laws and language were introduced. The English language became the language of business. The inhabitants were unacquainted with it. Public matters had to be transacted in that tongue. The people, before they could participate in the management of their public concerns, were under the necessity of learning that tongue. This was a difficult task. None but the youth or rising generation could accomplish it. To obtain a competent knowledge of a foreign language for the transaction of business, after a person has arrived at mature age, is a difficulty that few can surmount. Again, emigrations from the Netherlands ceased, in a great measure. The early settlers and their descendants were isolated, and in certain respects cut off from a communication with the parent state. The emigrations from Great Britain and Ireland, were inconsiderable. The tyranny and bigotry of certain of the colonial governors, were such as to discourage many from settling in the country. The irruptions of the French and Indians, and the frequent wars between Great Britain and France, deterred many from making settlements. The New-England people, on account of some prejudices which they entertained against the Dutch, and which were not done away before the revolution, had a reluctance to settling in the province. Hence, the state of New-York, although the most important at this day, of any in the Union, was neglected, and suffered to remain almost in a state of nature. In the year 1775, its population did not much exceed two hundred thousand souls, a num-

ber little, if any, over what the city of New-York now contains.

The war of the revolution, which proved ruinous to many, and which so greatly impoverished the nation, paved the way for improvements, not only in this state, but in the others. The continental army was composed of soldiers from the different states. The main army was cantoned in this state for no inconsiderable portion of the time, which elapsed during the war. The officers and soldiers assimilated in their manners and customs. They mingled with our citizens, and communicated to them some of their manners and customs. National and local prejudices and distinctions were in a measure done away. Men of elevated minds and extended views, set examples. Connexions were formed, marriages contracted, and social intercourse was established. Channels for commerce were opened. The inhabitants of different states trafficked together. Before the war, the people of the United States travelled very little from home. In Connecticut, a journey to Albany and Schenectady, which is so easily performed at the present day, was considered arduous, and so much so that it was seldom undertaken. The revolution seems to have shortened distances and removed impediments. The marches of the troops during the war, enlarged the views of both officers and soldiers, and led to many researches and discoveries. A fondness for travelling was introduced. The extreme richness and beauty of our western lands were first made known by the troops, who, under the Colonels Van Schaick and Willet, and the Generals Sullivan and Clinton, invaded and wasted the countries of the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas. Those under Van Schalck and Willet, traversed the space between Utica and Onondaga; and those under Sullivan and Clinton, the space between Tioga Point and Genesee river, and between that river and the Mohawk. The greater part of the men employed in these expeditions were natives of New-England. These, on their return, after the disbanding of the American army, in the year 1783, gave very glowing accounts of the goodness of the lands, and the facilities offered for making settlements and accumulating property.

These accounts induced some of the people of New-England to take up resolutions to emigrate. Not a small number of the soldiers took up the same resolutions. Other causes also conspired to induce emigrations, not only in the western country, but into the counties within the basin of the Hudson. The first was the insurrection in Massachusetts in 1785. This lasted but a short time, being suppressed by the Generals Lincoln and Shepherd. Many persons concerned in it removed into the states of New-York and Vermont, and more especially into the former. The numbers have been estimated at some thousands. Not a few were in the prime of life. The second was the cession by the government of the state of New-York in 1786 to that of Massachusetts of large tracts of vacant lands in the western country. These lands consisted of two tracts. The one comprehends all that part of the state lying west of a line beginning on the north at the mouth of Great Sodus Bay, on the south side of Lake Ontario, and running thence southerly to the northerly boundary of Pennsylvania, except one mile on the east side of the river Niagara and the islands in that stream. Its length on the south side is about one hundred and forty miles, and on the north about one hundred. Its breadth on the east, from Lake Ontario to Pennsylvania, is about eighty-seven miles. The breadth is pretty uniform, westwardly, as far as Niagara river and the north easterly extremity of Lake Erie. The superfices of this tract contains about nine thousand and six hundred square miles, or six millions one hundred and forty-four thousand acres. The whole tract was formerly called Genesee.

The other tract comprehends ten or eleven townships of six miles square each, and is situated between Chenango river and Owego Creek, being in the counties of Broome and Tioga.

These cessions, embracing about ten thousand square miles, and nearly one fourth of the state, were made by the then government, however strange the transaction may appear at this day, to the government of Massachusetts, to quiet or put at rest certain antiquated claims, set up by the government of that state, to certain lands within the state of New-York. These

antiquated claims were based and supported by an antiquated charter, which never had any validity. New-York ceded every thing save sovereignty, and without any equivalent. There was no *quid pro quo.*

The government of Massachusetts sold the first tract to Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham, for one million of dollars, and the other to John Brown and others, for three thousand three hundred dollars, and some cents. Thus much, at present, concerning lands trifled away without any equivalent, or so much as a beaver skin.

We shall next notice the military lands, as they are called.—The lands under this denomination were set apart by the legislature, in the year 1782, for the officers and soldiers of the state of New-York, who should serve in the army of the United States to the end of the war according to law. These lands were bounded on the east by the country of the Oneidas, on the north by Lake Ontario, on the west by a line drawn from the mouth of Great Sodus Bay, through the most westerly inclination of Seneca Lake, and on the south by a line drawn through the most southerly inclination of Seneca Lake, easterly to the country of the Oneidas. The number of acres embraced in the military tract, is about one million eight hundred thousand. The military tract comprises, pretty generally speaking, the counties of Onondaga, Cortlandt, Cayuga, Tompkins and Seneca, and the easterly half, or nearly so, of the county of Wayne, and the southwesterly part of the county of Oswego, or that part of that county situated on the left bank of Oswego river. Prior to the cession made to Massachusetts, and the grant made to the officers and soldiers, the Agoneasean, or Indian title, was not extinguished. Messrs. Phelps and Gorham, and the government of New-York, had to extinguish these before settlements could be commenced. But before we speak in relation to the extinguishment of the Indian title to the Massachusetts and military lands, and the commencement of settlements on those lands, it will be necessary to advert to some other settlements of prior date.

In January, 1784, Mr. Hugh White, in company with four or five other families, removed with his family from the state of Connecticut into the state of New York, and settled at a place four miles west of the now populous and flourishing town of Utica, then known by the name of Saughdaghquadu, but at present by that of Whitesborough. This was the first settlement ever made in the western country by civilized man. The Mohawk settlements terminated seven or eight miles below Utica. These were feeble, the greater part of the Mohawk country being still overshadowed by forest trees. The roads running along and near the Mohawk, were bad. Westwardly of Germanflats, which was the most remote settlement in the Mohawk country, there was a continuous forest that extended far beyond the state. This forest was not intersected or traversed by any roads, save Indian paths, on which only single persons could travel on foot, if we except a rude road running from the utmost verge of Germanflats by Fort Schuyler, and through Saughdaghquadu to Fort Stanwix, now Rome. Fort Schuyler, as we have heretofore remarked, stood close by where the bridge crossing the Mohawk at Utica now is.

Before we proceed farther concerning the settlement of Whitestown, &c., we shall introduce an extract from the Gazetteer of Dr. Horatio G. Spafford, published in 1813. We think it will be read with interest by the western people. Dr. Spafford copied it from a journal printed at Utica, styled the Patriot.

"Died at Whitestown, on the sixteenth, — 1812, Hugh White, Esq., aged eighty years. The death of this venerable man excites many interesting reflections. He may justly be considered as the Patriarch who first led the children of New-England into the wilderness; and it may be truly said, that he has lived to see and enjoy the promised land.

"In the year 1784, he removed with his family from Middletown, in Connecticut, to Sedaghquate, (now Whitesborough), which till then had been the gloomy abode of wild beasts and savage men.

"Judge White was the first who dared to overleap the German settlements on the Mohawk, and to encounter the hardships, privations, and dangers of the western wilds.

"During the first four years after his establishment at Sedaghquate, the progress of settlements around was slow and discouraging. In 1788, the town of Germanflats was divided, and a new town established, which, in honour of this enterprising man, was named Whitestown.

"Whitestown then contained less than two hundred inhabitants; and included all that part of the state of New-York which now consists of the counties of Oneida, Lewis, Jefferson, St. Lawrence, Madison, Chenango, Broome, Tioga, Cortlandt, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, Ontario, Steuben, Alleghany, Genesee, Niagara, Cataraugus, and Chatauque, which counties, according to the census of 1810, now contain two hundred and eighty thousand three hundred and nineteen inhabitants.

"This astonishing and unparalleled progress of settlements has not been effected by colonies sent out and supported by the power and wealth of government. The whole has been accomplished by the voluntary efforts of individual enterprise and industry.

"This wonderful transition by which, in the space of twenty-eight years, this immense wilderness has been converted into fruitful fields, seems like the illusions of a dream even to those who have witnessed its progress.

"The native forests have given place to villages, seminaries of learning, and temples for christian worship; and the arts and refinements of civilized society have rapidly succeeded the footsteps of the wandering savage."—*See article, Whitestown Gaz. p.* 327.

In the years 1785–6–7 and 8, a number of families removed from New-England to Saughdaghquada. In the latter year, the town of Whitestown was erected, being set off from Germanflats. At the time of its erection, the number of inhabitants fell short of two hundred. The progress of settlements made in the woods is always tardy in their infancy. This was the case with Whitestown. The population above spoken of was

not confined to the present town, but was thinly scattered over several of the adjacent towns. Some dwelt on and near the banks of the Sauquait, and others on those of the Oriskinny, and intermediate. In 1788, Mr. Moses Foot, with nine or ten families, settled at and near where the present village of Clinton, in the town of Paris, stands.

During the years 1788-9 and 1790, several hundred families emigrated into the then town of Whitestown, and greatly enlarged the settlements already made. In 1789, there was a great scarcity of provisions in the state, occasioned in part by the crops not coming in plentiful in the preceding year, and, in part, by the large bodies of emigrants. The infant settlement of Whitestown was much straitened, but was relieved by Mr. Isaac Paris, then a merchant, at Fort Plain, in the county of Montgomery. This gentleman made considerable purchases at Albany of Virginia corn, which he sold to the new settlers, who in general were poor, on a liberal credit. The inhabitants, soon afterwards, on the erection of the town of Paris, named it in honour of their benefactor. Hence the origin of the name of Paris in Oneida county.

The first white family that settled in the county of Onondaga, was that of Mr. Webster, lately interpreter for the Onondagas. This was in the year 1786. In 1788, Mr. Webster, after using much argument, prevailed on the Onondagas to permit Messrs. Asa Danforth, and Comfort Tyler, with their families, to settle at Onondaga Hollow. Such was the feeble beginning of the settlement of the county of Onondaga, a county which now (1829) contains a population of fifty thousand souls.

In the year 1784 or 1785, Messrs. Horatio Jones and Lawrence Smith seated themselves at Seneca Falls, on Seneca outlet, in what is now called the county of Seneca; and in the year 1787, Mr. James Bennet took up his abode at West Cayuga, in the same county. In the latter year, a Mr. James Lawrence settled at East Cayuga, in the county of Cayuga. The former hamlet is on the west side of Cayuga lake, and the latter on the east side, where Cayuga bridge crosses the lake. This bridge is one mile and eight rods long.

Cooperstown, in the county of Otsego, was founded in 1789, by the late Judge Cooper. Oxford, in the county of Chenango, was founded about the same time. In the year 1790, a few families seated themselves at Owego, in the county of Tioga.

In the spring of the year 1788, Mr. Oliver Phelps, of the town of Gorham, in the commonwealth of Massachusetts, started with a number of men on an expedition to the country of Genesee, which he and Mr. Gorham had recently purchased of the government of Massachusetts. On his way, he passed through the Mohawk country as far as where the village of Rome, in the county of Oneida, stands; and thence he proceeded by water, following the courses of Wood Creek, Oneida Lake and River, Seneca River, and Canandaigua outlet, almost to the place where the village of Canandaigua has since been built. The boats which he employed set out from Schenectady. There were, at that time, two principal portages, or carrying-places, the one at Little Falls, on the Mohawk, and the other at Rome, between the Mohawk and Wood Creek.

Mr. Phelps, on reaching Canandaigua, set himself about constructing huts, to protect himself and his companions from the inclemency of the weather. In the mean time, he despatched messengers to the chiefs and head warriors of the Senecas, or Chitowoneaughgas, to invite them to a conference at his new residence in their country. The Rev. Samuel Kirkland accompanied Mr. Phelps, and acted as an interpreter. Early in July, the chiefs and warriors of the Senecas met him, pursuant to the invitation. The objects which Mr. Phelps had in view, by calling this meeting, were to conclude an alliance, and procure cessions of their lands by purchase. The Senecas, by their chiefs and head warriors, very readily closed with his proffers. They formed an alliance, and sold him two millions two hundred and fifty thousand acres of land, In the succeeding year, they disposed of sundry large tracts of land to Mr. Phelps. The amount paid to the Senecas was very inconsiderable, being little beyond nominal.

In the years 1788-9 and 1790, Mr. Phelps caused these lands

to be surveyed into ranges, townships and lots. Very soon after he made his purchases, he established a land-office at Canandaigua.

Geneva, which is in the Massachusetts grant, was founded in 1789. During the same year, several other small settlements were established in the counties of Ontario and Wayne.

In the year 1790, a number of families took up their residence at Pittsford, Perrinton, and Scotsville, in the county of Monroe. The Messrs. William and James Wadsworth, two brothers, in the same year founded Geneseo, in the county of Livingston. Brighton, in Monroe county, was settled in 1791.

In January, 1789, the county of Ontario was erected. It comprised the whole purchase of Messrs. Phelps and Gorham, and is now subdivided into twelve counties, exclusive of the westerly part of the county of Wayne. The population of the new county of Ontario, in the year 1790, amounted to one thousand and seventy-five souls, without including the Senecas and others belonging to the aborigines.

A party of emigrants, in the year 1790 or 1791, made a road through the woods from the settlements of Whitestown to Canandaigua. This road passed through the counties of Madison, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca, and thence to the latter village. Its course lay through the Oneida Castle, Canasaraga, Onondaga Hollow, Marcellus, Skaneatelis, Auburn, East and West Cayuga, Seneca Falls and Geneva. Such was the commencement and course of the first road ever opened between the Mohawk river and the issue of Canandaigua Lake, Great were the hardships which this little band of pioneers suffered. Apart from the woods, the country was intersected by many swamps, ravines and streams. In some instances the swamps could not be passed with loaded carriages, before wooden causeways were constructed, and the streams before bridges were built. Great difficulties occurred in carrying the road across some of the ravines, especially at Chitteningo, Butternut, Onondaga and Otisco creeks. The hills accompanying these streams are long and steep, and in some places

rocky. But the emigrants persevered, obviated all obstacles, and at length reached the new town of Canandaigua. The ensuing winter after the construction of the road, considerable numbers of emigrants repaired from New-England to Ontario. Small settlements were formed at several places on this road, and some houses of public entertainment opened.

Onondaga, in the year 1794, was erected into a county. Its extent was much greater then than that of the present county. The emigrants by this time had become firmly established. They raised wheat, corn, and other things in sufficient abundance, not only to supply all their own immediate wants, but to subsist the numerous emigrants, who were annually coming in. The numbers of emigrants, who repaired to the western country, between 1785 and 1800, surpassed any thing of the kind hitherto known in the United States. To give the reader an idea, we will state the returns of the census of the western country taken in 1800.. The population of the then county of Oneida, was twenty two thousand and forty-seven; that of Chenango, fifteen thousand six hundred and sixty-six; that of Tioga, six thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine; that of Onondaga, seven thousand four hundred and six; that of Cayuga, fifteen thousand eight hundred and seventy-one; that of Ontario, fifteen thousand two hundred and eighty-one; and that of Steuben, seventeen hundred and eighty-eight. We have not included Otsego, because it was settled before the revolution, but its population was very inconsiderable, and probably did not run over one hundred families. The grand aggregate of the population of the western country was then eighty-four thousand eight hundred and seventy-five souls. The annual emigration, averaging the whole period from the time that Judge White settled at Whitestown, which is considered the commencement of the settling the western country, to the year one thousand eight hundred, is about one thousand families. The emigrations which were made between 1785 and 1791, were inconsiderable when compared with those made between the latter period and the year 1800. The population of the county of Ontario in 1790, was only one thousand and seventy-five souls; but in 1800

it was fifteen thousand two hundred and eighteen. The first beginnings of settlements in countries overspread with woods are very slow, and do not progress rapidly till a lapse of some years. This remark has been exemplified in all the settlements made in the United States. At first, the emigrants have to draw their subsistence from a distance. The early settlers of the western country had to draw theirs from the Mohawk country.—The latter country was thinly settled. West of the Little Falls, on the river Mohawk, there were only a few families without the valley, and these were not in a condition to furnish many emigrants with provisions, their farms being much neglected in consequence of the calamities of the war. We have already remarked, that the Mohawk country was nearly desolated by the tories and Indians, in their several inroads. The inhabitants, who had been so fortunate as to escape the tommahawk, had but just rebuilt their habitations, and were beginning to enjoy the sweets of repose. Again, roads had to be opened through the woods to all the settlements, and by individuals. The government did nothing. Every thing depended upon individual exertion and enterprise. If a road was wanting or a bridge to be made, and all these were wanting, individuals had to make them. After the pioneers had constructed a road through the woods from Whitestown to Canandaigua, the emigrations became more considerable, and increased with the improvements made from year to year on that road, and the settlements formed on and near to it. The winter was the season usually chosen for removing from New-England to the western country. Then, as the country was shaded by forest trees, there was commonly enough of snow for sleighing.

In the year 1796, the British yielded up the forts Oswegatchie, Oswego, Niagara, and Schlosser, which they had held to that time, although in contravention to the terms of the peace concluded with the United States, at Paris, in 1783. Immediately after the evacuation of these posts, settlements were begun at Oswego and Owegatchie.

In the years 1797 and 1798, settlements were commenced at Lowville, Watertown and Brownville, in the counties of Lewis

and Jefferson. The counties of Lewis, Jefferson and St. Lawrence were then included in the county of Herkimer.

As the emigrants flowed into the western country like a torrent, the settlements were extended on all sides. New roads were opened, and new settlements formed. The road leading from the Mohawk to Canandaigua was prolonged, first to the river Genesee, then to Tonawanta Creek, and lastly to Buffalo, near the outlet of Lake Erie. The settlements along the great road leading from the town of Utica to Genesee river, were mostly connected, by the year 1800. Several villages and many hamlets had sprung up, and not a few of the settlers had acquired a degree of affluence. In 1800 the western country began to attain consequence in the councils of the state.

But the emigrations during the same period were not confined to the western country. Crowds flocked yearly into the counties situated in the basins of the Hudson and Delaware, more particularly, however, to those lying in the basin of the former river. The counties of Columbia, Rensselaer and Washington, on the east side of the Hudson and Green, Albany, Saratoga, Montgomery, Herkimer and Schoharie, on the west side of that river and on the Mohawk, may be specially instanced. To these might be added Otsego, which is mostly in the basin of the Susquehannah.

The reader, by looking at our view of the progressive population of the state, in volume second, pages 58 and 59, may form an idea of the numbers who migrated. The cities of Hudson and Troy, and the villages of Catskill, Lansingburgh and Waterford were founded in the same period, that is, between 1784 and 1800. Other villages of minor importance might be enumerated. The cities of New-York, Albany and Schenectady were enlarged. The population of the two former was more than doubled.

The peopling of the state since the revolution, although unexampled in the annals of colonization, has nevertheless been slower than it otherwise would have been, had not the state government thrown obstacles in the way. It has been noticed, that all the settlements were commenced and made by individu-

als without any assistance from government. In general, the settlers had to purchase the lands at extravagant prices from large land-jobbers, and being for the most part poor, laboured under great discouragements. The original disposition of the public lands, and their falling into the hands of particular individuals, who seldom or never settled on them, are so extraordinary that we should do injustice to the public, were we to pass them over in silence. We shall, therefore, give the leading facts, leaving the full investigation to some individual possessing more leisure and means than we do.

On the fifth of May, 1786, the legislature of the state of New-York, passed an act for the speedy sale of the unappropriated lands within the state, and for other purposes therein mentioned. The reader will remember, that this is the title of the act. The ostensible object, however, was to sell the public lands in large parcels to particular individuals, to the end that they might sell them at large profits to actual settlers. At the time this famous act was passed, upwards of two-thirds of the lands in the state were unappropriated, that is, they belonged to the state. The residue, comprising nearly one-third of the state, was in the hands of actual settlers, landholders and patentees, mostly, however, in the hands of the two latter descriptions of men.

The Dutch founded New-York and Albany in the year 1614, and continued in possession of the country for about fifty years thereafter. The English dispossessed them in 1664 and held the country, if we except about one year from that time, to 1775. The whole time that the Dutch and English were masters of the country, comprehends a period of one hundred and sixty-one years, still, however, not one-third of the lands of the state were disposed of during that period. We have not mentioned the time which the Dutch and English held the country, and the probable extent of the grants made by the colonial governors, to show that impolitic and extravagant grants were not made, because facts would disprove it. Loud complaints were made at times, and censures bestowed on account of large grants made by some of the colonial governors to their favourites, to the detriment of the province.

Smith, the historian, who wrote nearly one hundred years ago, remarks, " Many have been the discouragements to the settlement of this colony (New-York). The French and Indian irruptions, to which we have always been exposed, have driven many families into New-Jersey. The British acts for the transportation of felons, have brought all the American colonies into discredit with the industrious and honest poor, both in the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. The bigotry and tyranny of some of our governors, together with the great extent of their grants, may also be considered among the discouragements against the full settlement of the province (New-York). Most of these gentlemen, coming over with no other view than to raise their own fortunes, issued extravagant patents, charged with small quit-rents, to such as were able to serve them in the Assembly; and these patentees, being generally men of estates, have rated their lands so exorbitantly high, that very few poor persons could either purchase or lease them." Such were the complaints spoken of by Mr. Smith, in his time; and those in relation to the lands granted were the most serious, and mainly impeded the rapid settlement of the state.

In New-England and Pennsylvania, the wild lands were either granted or sold to actual settlers. This led to the rapid population of those countries, although neither can boast of such extensive tracts of rich land, and such a noble river as the Hudson. The former, in the year 1784, had a population five times as great as that of New-York, and the latter twice, although not settled in reality before the year 1682.

Most of the grants complained of by Mr. Smith were made prior to the year 1698. Under the administration of Colonel Fletcher sundry extravagant grants were had. These were of such extent as to threaten the destruction of the colony. Tracts embracing enough of territory for a large county, were inconsiderately made to individuals, on which the rent reserved for the crown did not exceed four or five beaver skins per annum.

On the arrival of Lord Bellamont, the successor of Colonel Fletcher, representations were made to him in respect to these grants, and their pernicious tendency. His lordship, after

taking them into consideration, recommended their repeal. Accordingly the Assembly, in the year 1699, enacted a law, vacating the grants made by Fletcher. The same law provided that no grant or grants should thereafter be made, unless to actual settlers. In the recommendation, his lordship stated, among other reasons, that extravagant grants impeded settlements, and were subversive of the best interests of the colony. Anterior to the passage of this law, the governors could make such grants as they pleased. But an evasion of this law was attended with much difficulty, and no small expense. Sir William Johnson, and some others who evaded it, were under a necessity of getting cultivators to petition the governor and council for grants on which the petitioners proposed settling. Letters patent were granted to the petitioners in the first place. In these all the petitioners were named, but the deed was made out to one or more, and he or they were bound to release to the others. Hence, before large tracts of land could come into the hands of certain individuals, letters patent had to be granted, and deeds of release made out, and then conveyances from the several applicants. But, as such grants were contrary to the tenor and meaning of the law, being an evasion, and liable to be cancelled, few attempted to evade it.

On the adoption of the constitution, in the year 1777, and the organization of the state government, this wise law, the enactment of which had been upon the recommendation of Lord Bellamont, was abrogated, and the door thrown open to certain governmental agents and their friends.

We have already remarked, that the law under which the unappropriated lands were frittered away, was made on the fifth of May, 1786. In about eight years after the passage of this law, nearly twenty millions of acres of lands were sold, ceded and disposed of, which belonged to the people of this state, and for sums which were barely nominal. We shall state such parts of the law, as have application to the sales, for it is not, we believe, in the latter editions of the revised laws.

The law, that authorized the sale of the public lands, created a board of commissioners, which consisted of the governor,

lieutenant-governor, the speaker of the assembly, the secretary of the state, the attorney-general, treasurer and auditor. It established an office, called the land-office. The commissioners were to direct the disposing and granting of the unappropriated lands, according to such powers and directions, as should, from time to time, be prescribed by the legislature. Any three of the commissioners, provided the governor was one, were to constitute a board for the transaction of business. Such is the outline of the provision of the first section of the act.

The second section, however, of the same act, made it lawful for the commissioners, from time to time, to direct the surveyor-general to cause surveys of such of the unappropriated lands, as they might deem proper for sale, to be made.

By the first section, the commissioners were to sell according to such powers and directions, as the legislature should from time to time give to them. By the second section of the same act, the commissioners might, without orders or directions from the legislature, sell when they chose, as they thought proper, and any number of acres, with this remarkable limitation, that they should not sell for less than one shilling per acre. The unsuspecting reader might have supposed that this board was under the direction of the legislature. No such thing. The members were under no restraint whatever, they might cut and carve.

But we will go on, and state the farther prominent provisions. The act provided, that when the lands were laid off into lots, pursuant to the direction of the commissioners, that they should be advertised in three newspapers, for not more than forty days nor less than thirty, and then sold at vendue to the highest bidder. The commissioners, as there was no restraining clause in regard to the number of acres to be put up, might sell in large or small parcels, as best suited their interest, if they had any, convenience or caprice. But be this as it may, the unappropriated lands were in general sold in townships, half-townships, and quarter-townships. A township contained one hundred square miles, or sixty-four thonsand acres, enough of

land for three hundred and twenty farms of two hundred acres each. The lands usually being put up in large parcels, very few actual settlers were able to buy; hence, nearly the whole so sold by the commissioners, passed into the hands of a few wealthy individuals, and their friends and connexions. Such is the manner in which the public lands were sold. In this way, a few persons became possessed in a short time, of the greater part of the state. This is the occasion of such large tracts of land in various parts of the state, being vacant at this day. This has retarded in no small degree the settlement of the state. In general, the proprietors of the wild lands hold them so high, that enterprising emigrants, and even our own citizens, cannot, unless they have considerable money, purchase them. These people, therefore, in general, pass through the state, or leave it and go to Ohio, Michigan, or Upper Canada, where lands can be obtained on moderate terms. Tens of thousands have seated themselves in those countries, that would have seated themselves in this state, could they have done it on terms as advantageous to themselves. These would have increased our population, and added to the wealth and consideration of the state. The strength of states consists in the number of their inhabitants, their improvements and wealth, and not in a thin population and vast forests. But cupidity rarely looks beyond its own interest. The flourishing state of Vermont was lost to this state, in consequence of the cupidity and obstinacy of a few persons.

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* As to the facts in relation to the dispute between this state and Vermont, the reader is referred to the journals of Congress and the legislature of this state, and to Williams' History of Vermont.

CHAPTER XIV.

Religion—Literary institutions—Schools—Origin of the government of the United States—Adoption of the constitution—Rise of parties—Government of the state—List of governors, &c.

Religion.—The constitution of this state, as well as that of the United States, allows the free exercise of religion to all denominations. The following comprise the different denominations, which are in the state, so far as we are acquainted; to wit: Presbyterians, Dutch Reformed, Seceders, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Methodists, Lutherans, Baptists, Quakers, Universalists, Roman Catholics, Moravians, Unitarians, Shakers, Jews and Deists. There are, perhaps, some other denominations, but if there are, their numbers are very small.

The ministers, or public teachers, of the several denominations, are paid by voluntary contributions, the amount depending on the wealth and liberality of the contributors. The clergy, in general, are, we believe, but moderately compensated. Ministers of the gospel are excluded from holding offices. Most of our literary institutions are under the superintendence of the clergy.

Churches, and places of public worship, are not commensurate with the population of the state. This is occasioned by the sudden growth of the country. In the old settlements the numbers, with few exceptions, are perhaps correspondent with the number of the inhabitants.

Literature.—There are seven colleges in this state, to wit: Columbia College, in the city of New-York; Union College, at the city of Schenectady; Hamilton College, in the town of Kirkland, in the county of Oneida; the Western College, at Geneva, in the county of Ontario; the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Fairfield, in the county of Herkimer; and the

College of Physicians and Surgeons in the city of New-York; and Rutger's College, in the same city.

Columbia College, originally called King's College, was founded in the year 1754, and is the oldest institution of the kind in the state. It has a president, five professors, and about one hundred and twenty students.

Union College, which was incorporated in the year 1794, has about one hundred and fifty students. There is a president and four professors. The situation of this flourishing seminary is both healthy and beautiful.

Hamilton College is about eight miles southwesterly of Utica. The buildings stand on a commanding eminence, a little westwardly of Oriskinny Creek, and are extensive and commodious. This institution was founded in 1812. The students have heretofore amounted to from ninety to one hundred. It has a president and three professors. We are unable to say how many students attend at this time. Local differences, which is not our province to mention, but which too often injure public institutions among us, have nearly broken up this seminary. Hamilton College is situated in a fertile part of the state.

The Western College was incorporated in the year 1825. It stands on the eminence, on which the flourishing village of Geneva is built.

The courses of studies pursued at these institutions are, the languages, geography, logic, natural philosophy, mathematics, chemistry, &c.

The Medical College of Physicians and Surgeons of the city of New-York, was incorporated in 1806, and modified in 1813. It has a president and five professors, and about one hundred students. Anatomy, surgery, materia medica, physiology, obstetrics, chemistry, natural history, &c., are taught in it.

Rutgers' College, in the same city, is also a medical institution. The same branches are taught in it. It has the same number of professors, and about a like number of students.

The College of Physicians and Surgeons at Fairfield, in the

county of Herkimer, has the same number of professors as the preceding, and about two hundred students.

Since the establishment of these seminaries, medicine, surgery, &c., have been successfully cultivated; and the profession of a physician and surgeon is becoming respectable.

Academies.—These amount to about thirty-six; and are located at Albany, Fairfield, Utica, Paris, Auburn, Cayuga, Cortlandt, Geneva, Canandaigua, Onondaga, Pompey, Lowville, St. Lawrence, Johnstown, Schenectady, Grenville, Ballston, Lansingburgh, Troy, Cherry Valley, Hartwick, Hudson, Middlebury, Cambridge, Montgomery, Newburgh, Catskill, Poughkeepsie, North Salem, Flatbush, New-York, &c.

The whole number of students, according to the official returns, exceeds four thousand; but the reader, if he desires to preserve the proper meaning to words, must needs make very large deductions, since many are returned as students who neither know nor understand any thing beyond reading, some writing and arithmetic. The objects in view for making such extravagant returns, are, we understand, to make a parade, and then draw more money from the state than ought to be drawn.

This, however, the regents might easily prevent, were they inclined. In making these remarks, we would not be understood as applying them to all the academic institutions, since some are flourishing and highly creditable to the state. The Albany and Fairfield academies might be instanced.

Schools.—We are unable to state with certainty the number of common schools in the state. In 1823, according to Dr. H. G. Spafford's Gazetteer, there were 7,382. The present number must considerably exceed this. The number of children between the ages of five and fifteen, that attended these schools, was 373,008.

Under the school system, every town in the state is divided into districts, in each of which there is a school-house. In the year 1823, about eighty thousand dollars, growing out of the school fund, was distributed among the several counties, according to the population, and then distributed among the separate school districts. The sum now distributed exceeds in amount the foregoing.

The school system, were it corrected, in certain respects would prove much more useful.

Formation of the Federal Government.—The American people formed themselves into a body politic, while they were colonies of Great Britain. We shall state, briefly, the steps which were taken from time to time, in order to bring it to that improved condition, in which it is at present. In the month of October, 1765, a Congress composed of delegates from nine of the British colonies convened at the city of New-York. The first measure that they adopted after being organized, was a declaration of rights and grievances. In the declaration they stated, among other things, that the inhabitants of the colonies were entitled to all the rights, privileges and immunities of natural subjects, within the kingdom of Great Britain, and that they had the exclusive power of taxing themselves. This Congress, after having made arrangements for another meeting, should exigencies require it, adjourned.

On the fourth of September, 1774, the second Congress convened at Philadelphia. Deputies from eleven of the colonies attended. They chose a president, and proceeded to business. Committees were appointed to state the rights claimed by the colonies, which had been invaded by the British Parliament, prepare a petition to the King and addresses to the people of Great Britain. Congress, at this meeting, among other things, passed a resolve, declaratory of rights, and then adjourned. Previous to their adjournment, they recommended that another Congress should convene on the tenth of May, 1775.

In the meantime, the proceedings had by this Congress were laid before the American people for their consideration.

In May, 1775, the third Congress assembled, pursuant to the foregoing recommendation, and commenced the organization of a government. They organized the higher departments of the army, emitted bills of credit, framed articles of war, and published a manifesto. These measures were in accordance with the wishes of the people. The Congress, in addition, recommended to the several colonies to constitute governments, and take such other steps as would conduce to their safety and welfare.

On the fourth of July, 1776, Congress published the declaration of independence. From this time they assumed all the powers of sovereignty. They managed every thing in relation to the internal and external concerns of the nation. Articles of confederation had been made as early as the eleventh of June, in the preceding month. These were preparatory to the declaration of independence. The states, in their individual character, ratified the articles of confederation and other acts done by Congress. But the powers of Congress, after all, amounted to little more than recommendations. In the articles of confederation, there was no provision which enabled it to add a sanction to its laws. The states might ratify them or not, this being optional with them. This was a great defect in these articles. One state would comply and another not. Delinquencies in one state occasioned delinquencies in another. The army on which the safety of the country depended, was imperfectly supplied and paid. National engagements were not fulfilled, and public confidence was lost. Congress endeavoured to obtain from the several states, the right of laying on a general tax, for the maintenance of the army, the payment of the debts, and the restoration of public credit. But this was found impracticable. The states declined to unite in a measure which tended so much to their general safety. The finances of the nation became more and more deranged, and every thing conspired to destroy the confederation. After the peace with Great Britain, each state in its turn, withdrew its support, till the union was on the verge of dissolution. Each state was a distinct sovereignty. Great diversity of sentiment prevailed, in regard to the manner in which the affairs of the confederacy ought to be conducted. The people of the American confederation were divided into two parties. The one contemplated the Americans as a nation, and strove to clothe Congress with powers which would preserve the Union. The other looked on Congress with jealousy, and laboured to restrict its powers.

The one contended for the observance of public and private engagements, and was friendly to a regular administration of

justice, and of a course of taxation that would enable the Union to fulfil its engagements. It was friendly to an enlargement of the federal government, and to the enabling it to protect the dignity and character of the nation abroad, and its interests at home. The other party viewed with tenderness the case of the debtor. To exact a compliance with contracts was thought harsh. It was in favour of relaxing the administration of justice. It resisted every attempt to transfer, from its own hands into those of Congress, those powers which were essential to the welfare and preservation of the Union.

These parties were nearly balanced. The advocates of the former endeavoured to impress the people with the importance of taking measures to prevent a total dissolution of the confederacy, and of adopting a stable form of government for the whole. To this end, it was recommended that a convention of delegates from the several states should convene at Annapolis, in Maryland. A meeting was held pursuant to the recommendation, in the month of September, in the year 1787, but it was only attended by commissioners from New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia. The convention chose a chairman, and proceeded to discuss the objects for which they had convened. As the delegates were not clothed with ample powers, and as a majority of the states were not convened, they came to a determination to adjourn.—Previous to their adjournment, however, they agreed on a report to be made to their respective states, in which was represented the necessity of extending the revision of the federal system to all its defects, and in which they recommended that deputies for that purpose be appointed by the several legislatures, to meet in convention, in the city of Philadelphia, on the second day of May, 1788. In the meantime, Congress passed a resolution advising the same course. This had considerable influence. The legislature of the state of New-York, instructed its delegation in Congress, to move the resolution in that body, recommending to the several states to appoint deputies to meet in convention, for proposing amendments to the constituiton. In the senate of New-York there was a majority of only

one vote. The then governor, and several of the leading men, were opposed to such a measure, and did every thing in their power to defeat it. They foresaw that the establishment of a federal government would abridge their power. They did not take into due consideration the good of the whole. All the evils which they predicted, have, however, proved fallacious.

At the time and place appointed, the representatives of twelve states convened. Rhode Island was the only state not represented. In that state, a spirit hostile to reform reigned predominant. Washington was chosen president of the convention. On the seventeenth day of September, the members agreed upon a constitution for the United States.

A resolution of the convention directed, that the constitution, so agreed upon, should be laid before the United States in Congress assembled, and declared the opinion, that it should afterwards be submitted to a convention of delegates, chosen in each state by the people, under the recommendation of its legislature, for their assent and ratification. It was also recommended, that as soon as the conventions of nine states should ratify the constitution, it should be carried into operation by the United States in Congress assembled. By the order of the convention, the instrument, with the resolutions, was transmitted to Congress.

Immediately after the convention rose, measures were resorted to, to take the sense of the people in relation to the propriety of the adoption of the constitution. The friends and the opposers of the constitution formed themselves into two parties. The former were called Constitutionalists, and the latter Unconstitutionalists. Hitherto, no great parties, extending over all the states, had existed. Both, during the interval between its publication and adoption, exerted their utmost endeavours, for or against it. The presses teemed with productions in favour and against it. A series of essays appeared in the New-York papers in favour of it. These were the productions of Colonel Alex. Hamilton, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Madison. They are now known by the name of the Federalist.

The convention of eleven states at length consented to, and ratified the constitution. The parties were called Federalists

and Anti-federalists. The federalists were in favour of the constitution, and the anti-federalists opposed to it. The former were the friends of the union of the states, and the latter the enemies. The general government of the United States was organized under the constitution, immediately after its ratification, by a majority of the people of the United States, and Washington was chosen president. The adoption of the constitution and federal government, gave weight and consideration to the United States. Such is an outline of the United States' government, and the origin of parties.

Government.—This consists of three branches: the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judicial.

The Executive consists of a governor. In case of his death or impeachment, the lieutenant-governor is vested with the executive power.

The Legislative consists of a senate and assembly.

The Judicial consists of a chancellor, the three judges of the supreme-court, and the senate, with its president, the lieutenant-governor.

Of each of these in their order. The governor and lieutenant-governor are elected biennially.

The governor is general and commander-in-chief of all the militia, and admiral of the navy. He is empowered to convene the legislature or the senate on extraordinary occasions; grant reprieves and pardons after convictions, for all offences, except treason and impeachment. In treason, he may suspend execution, till the case be reported to the legislature, at its next meeting.

The duties of the governor are mostly defined by the constitution. By this instrument, he is required to communicate by message to the legislature, at every session, the condition of the state; and recommend such matters as he shall judge proper, expedite all such measures as may be resolved upon by the legislature, and see that the laws are faithfully executed.

In appointments to such offices as are in the gift of the senate, the governor has the sole nomination.

The Senate consists of thirty-two members, chosen for four years. Senators are elected by districts; the state being divided into eight districts, each of which sends four. The seats of one fourth are vacated every year. The seats thus vacated are filled by others chosen annually to supply their place.

The assembly consists of one hundred and twenty-eight members, who are elected annually. The members are apportioned among, and elected by, the different counties, unless the population be insufficient.

The number of senators and assemblymen is fixed by the constitution.

The legislature are to meet annually, on the first Tuesday of January, unless a different day be appointed by law.

A majority of each house constitutes a quorum. Each house determines the rules of its own proceedings, judges of the qualifications of its own members, and chooses its own officers. The senate, in the absence of the lieutenant-governor, may appoint a president pro tempore from its own members.

The assembly choose a speaker from their own body. Each house keeps a journal of its proceedings.

Bills may originate in either house; and all bills passed by one house, may be amended by the other.

Every bill which passes both houses must, before it can become a law, be presented to the governor for his approval. If he, however, does not approve it; and, upon a reconsideration, two thirds of the members of both houses present agree to pass it; it still becomes a law.

The judiciary is subdivided into several branches; each of which we shall notice separately.

First—The court for the trial of impeachments, and the correction of errors. This court is composed of the lieutenant-governor, who is *ex-officio* president of the senate, the senators, chancellor, and judges of the supreme-court. It is the highest tribunal in the state. The chancellor and judges have no voice in the affirmance or reversal of causes brought up from their respective courts. They, however, are to inform the court of the reasons for the decree or judgment. In those causes which are carried

up from the supreme court, the chancellor may give an opinion; and so, in those which are removed from the court of chancery, the judges may give opinions seriatim.

The court of chancery consists of a chancellor, who has jurisdiction in all cases in which the common law affords no relief, or not an adequate one.

His jurisdiction is either original or appellate, and extends to cases of accounts, frauds, infants, specific performances of agreements, trusts, &c.

The officers of this court consist of a register, and assistant register, clerks, masters, and examiners. The two latter are nominated by the governor, and appointed by the senate.

Third—The supreme court consists of a chief justice, and two justices. It is the supreme court of common law in the state. Its jurisdiction is very high and transcendent. It has authority over all the inferior courts, except the surrogates; their opinions and judgments being subject to its revision.

The judges of the supreme court are also empowered to hold circuit courts throughout the state. They appoint their own clerks, criers, and reporter. The clerks and criers a mount to six.

Fourth: the circuit court consists of eight judges. Each judge presides over a district, the state being divided into eight districts. These judges severally possess the powers of a justice of the supreme court at chambers; and in the trial of all issues joined in the supreme court, or in any other court and brought into the supreme court; and in the trial of cases in courts of oyer and terminer, and general jail delivery. They have also within the limits of their respective districts, concurrent jurisdiction with the chancellor, of all matters and causes in equity, of every description and character, subject, however, in all cases, to the appellate jurisdiction of the chancellor.

The equity jurisdiction of the circuit judges is confined to matters and causes within their several districts, or where the subject matter in controversy is situated within such district, &c.

The chancellor, justices of the supreme court and circuit judges, hold their offices during good behaviour, or until they

respectively attain the age of sixty. The constitution, in this respect, has its advantages and disadvantages. A judge may, after he attains sixty, be better qualified than when he went on the bench, or he may be worse. If he possess industry he will be better, but if he has little or none, he will be less fitted to discharge the duty. On the one hand the public are losers, and on the other gainers.

We are inclined to think the present organization of our supreme court and circuit courts, is defective; and that the anticipations of some will not be realized. There are three judges of the supreme court, eight circuit judges, a superior court in the city of New-York, consisting of three judges, to all of which may be added the chancellor, making a total of fifteen.

There are fifty five courts of common pleas. Justices of the peace have jurisdiction to the amount of fifty dollars. We barely name the latter jurisdictions, to show that they take off much business from the hands of the circuit judges, as these latter do from the supreme court, and that, after all, they do not dispose of the causes as fast as brought before them.

"The Superior Court of the city of New-York, consists of a Chief Justice and two Associate Justices, appointed for five years. They have power to hear, try and determine all local actions, arising within the city and county of New-York, and all transitory actions, although the same may not have arisen there, and to grant new trials in cases where they think proper.

The Superior Court is held at the City Hall on the first Monday of every month, and continued from day to day, to the last Saturday, inclusive in the same month, should it be deemed expedient. Either or all of the judges may hold the same for the trial of causes and for non-enumerated motions; but all cases and points, reserved at trials, bills of exceptions, demurrers to evidence, motions in arrest of judgment, and issues in law, are to be argued or submitted in the same court, before a majority of the judges.

Causes may be removed into the Supreme Court in like

manner, as they are from the Circuit Courts. This Court was created March 31, 1828.

The Court of Common Pleas consists of five judges, commissioned for five years; subject, however, to be removed by the senate, on the recommendation of the governor, for causes to be stated in such recommendation. The person first named in the commission, is designated first judge. The jurisdiction of the Common Pleas is limited to a county, and as there are five of these judges in every county, and as there are fifty-five organized counties in the state, the total number is two hundred and seventy-five—a legion.

The Courts of Common Pleas, of the several counties, are authorised to hear and determine all actions, real, personal and mixed, arising within the said several counties respectively, and also, all transitory actions, although the same may not have arisen within the said counties, respectively. New trials may also be granted, where one of the judges is of the degree of counsellor at law.

The judges of the Court of Common Pleas, the cities and counties of New-York and Albany excepted, are also authorised to hold courts of general sessions of the peace, in their several counties. Their jurisdiction extends to all cases, except treason, misprison of treason, murder, or other felony, or crime, which is punishable with death, or imprisonment in the state prison for life, or longer than life.

In civil cases, a quorum can do business. In criminal, a quorum, or either of the judges aided by two justices of the peace. The Court of Common Pleas have likewise appellate jurisdiction.

This court, a badge of the colonial times, ought to be abolished. Four lawyers, of industry, talents, and learning, would do all the business now done by the two hundred and seventy-five judges, and the justices of the peace, who at times sit in judgment with them in criminal cases, and would give much better satisfaction both to suitors and the public.

The judges appoint district attorneys in their respective counties.

In every county there is a clerk, who is elected by the people.

Sixth.—Justices of the peace.—The law allows four in each town in the state, whether the town be large or small, populous or not.

The jurisdiction of justices of the peace is commensurate with the county in which they live. They can try and determine all actions to the amount of fifty dollars, except those in which the title to land comes in question, and those of slander, and assault and battery. They are also authorised to enter judgments to the amount of two hundred and fifty dollars, and under. They also, in some cases, reverse their own judgments, accommodating themselves to causes, circumstances, and wishes.

Each justice constitutes a court in civil cases. Either party to a suit may appeal from the judgment rendered. But, as the appeal is to the common pleas, the remedy is oftentimes infinitely worse than the disease. The appellant, before he can appeal, has to give a bond in double the amount of the judgment and pay costs. In this particular the law is arbitrary and unjust. We say arbitrary and unjust, because it puts it in the power of an artful plaintiff to collect an unrighteous judgment of a defendant who is unable to procure bail.

Justices have also jurisdiction in cases of misdemeanor, petit larceny, &c. Every man that can write his name, is eligible to the office. The latter remark must, however, be taken with some qualifications; such as belonging to a party, being able to render services in holding up the party to which he belongs, and in yielding implicit obedience to the mandates of the leaders of the party.

Besides the justice's court, there are special justices courts in New-York, Albany, &c. The whole number of justices of the peace in the state, is not far from two thousand eight hundred—a mighty host. In England and Wales, where the population is nearly eight times as great as ours, there are about fifteen hundred acting magistrates. They ought to have about twenty thousand, but the people, perhaps, have formerly had experience of the evil arising from so many magistrates, and too much law; or little, or no law. Our justices of the peace

usually determine all causes brought before them, according to equity, by presuming and intending. But after all, equity does not consist in presuming and intending, but on facts and known principles.

Eighth.—Mayor's courts.—These are confined to the cities of New-York, Hudson, Albany, Troy, and Schenectady. The mayor, recorder and aldermen in each city form a court.

Ninth—Surrogate's Court.—There is one surrogate in each county, who holds courts in certain cases. His jurisdiction extends to the proving of wills, granting letters testamentary, and appointing administrators, guardians, &c.; and generally speaking, to all matters and things relating to the settlement of the estates of testates and intestates. An appeal lies from this court to the court of chancery.

Sheriffs and Sheriff's Courts.—In every county there is a sheriff, who is elected triennially. The sheriff is a judicial, as well as a ministerial officer. He holds inquests in civil cases, where the defendant makes default, and where the damages are not liquidated

Coroners are elected triennially. There are four in each county. They take inquests in cases of accidental deaths or otherwise, &c.

Constables.—These are elected yearly in the several towns. The electors determine the number.

Town officers.—These consist of one supervisor, and one town clerk in every town. Besides these there are assessors, &c.

There are several officers of state, such as the secretary, comptroller, treasurer, surveyor-general, attorney-general, adjutant-general, commissary-general, &c.

A list of the Governors, Lieutenant Governors and Presidents, who administered the government of the Colony and State of New-York, from June 1629, to the present time.

Dutch Governors.

Wouter Van Twiller,	from	.	1629 to 1638
William Kieft	do.	.	1638 - 1647

Peter Stuyvesant,	from	1647 - 1664
Anthony Colve,	from	October 14, 1673, to February 9, 1674.

English Governors.

Richard Nicolls,	from	Sept. 7, 1664 to 1667
Frances Lovelace,	from	1667, to October 19, 1673.
Sir Edmund Andross,	from	1674 to 1681
Anthony Brockholst,	do.	1681 - 1683
Thomas Dongan,	do.	1683 - 1688
Francis Nicholson,	do.	1688 -
Jacob Leisler, (Lieut. Gov.)	do.	1689 - 1691
Henry Sloughter,	do.	1691 -
Richard Ingolsby, (Lt. Gov.)	do.	1691 -
Benjamin Fletcher,	do.	1692 - 1698
Richard, Earl of Bellamont,	do.	1698 - 1701
John Nanfan, (Lt. Gov.)	do.	1701 - 1702
Lord Cornbury,	do.	1702 - 1708
Lord Lovelace,	do.	1708 - 1709
Richard Ingolsby, (do.)	—	1709 -
Gerardus Beekman, (Presidt.)	do.	1710 -
General Hunter,	do.	1710 - 1719
Peter Schuyler, (President)	do.	1719 - 1720
William Burnet,	do.	1720 - 1728
John Montgomery,	do.	1728 - 1731
Rip Van Dam, (President)	do.	1731 - 1732
William Crosby,	do.	1732 - 1736
George Clark,	do.	1736 - 1743
George Clinton,	do.	1743 - 1753
James Delancy, (Lieut. Gov.)	do.	1753 -
Danvers Osborn,	do.	1753 - 1755
Sir Charles Hardy,	do.	1755 - 1757
James Delancy, (Lieut. Gov.)	do.	1757 - 1760
Cadwallader Colden,(Lt.Gov.)	do.	1760 - 1762
Robert Monckten,	do.	1762 - 1763
Cadwallader Colden,(Lt.Gov.)	do.	1763 - 1765

Henry Moore,	from		1765 - 1770
John Earl, of Dunmore	do.		1770 - 1771
William Tryon,	do.		1771 - 1775

The Colonial government was suspended in May, 1775. From that time, to the twentieth of April, 1777, the state was governed by a provincial Congress, aided by town and county committees. General Nathaniel Woodhull was elected president of the Congress, in August 1775. The state government went into operation, after the adoption of the constitution, on the twentieth of April, 1777.

State Governors.

George Clinton,	from		1777 to 1795
John Jay,	do.		1795 - 1801
George Clinton,	do.		1801 - 1804
Morgan Lewis,	do.		1804 - 1807
Daniel D. Tompkins	do.		1807 - 1817
John Taylor, (Lieut. G.)	do.		1817
De Witt Clinton,	do.	July 4,	1817 - 1822
Joseph C. Yates,	do.		1822 - 1824
De Witt Clinton,	do.		1824 - 1828

Joshua Pitcher, (Lieut. G.) from the death of Mr. Clinton, February ninth, 1828, to the first of January, 1829.

Martin Van Beuren, from the first of January, 1829, to March, in the same year. Vacancy by resignation.

Enos Troop, the Lieutenant Governor, who succeeded Mr. Van Beuren, now administers the government.

The following statement was furnished me by Mr. Campbell, Deputy Secretary of this state.

Statement of the Number of Votes given for Governor, in the State of New-York, since the year 1789, scattering votes excepted.

Year.	Persons voted for.	Votes for each.	Total No. of votes.	Majority.
1789	George Clinton	6391	12353	329
	Robert Yates	5962		
1792	George Clinton	8440	16772	108
	John Jay	*8332		
1795	John Jay	13481	25373	1589
	Robert Yates	11892		
1798	John Jay	16012	29644	2380
	Robert R. Livingston	13632		
1801	George Clinton	24808	45651	3965
	Stephen Van Rensselaer	20843		
1804	Morgan Lewis	30829	52968	8690
	Aaron Burr	22139		
1807	Daniel D. Tompkins	35074	66063	4085
	Morgan Lewis	30989		
1810	Daniel D Tompkins	43094	79578	6610
	Jonas Platt	36484		
1813	Daniel D. Tompkins	43324	83042	3606
	Stephen Van Rensselaer	39718		
1816	Daniel D. Tompkins	45412	84059	6765
	Rufus King	38647		
1817	De Witt Clinton	43310	44789	
	Peter B. Porter	1479		
1820	De Witt Clinton	47447	93446	1457
	Daniel D. Tompkins	45990		
1822	Joseph C. Yates	128493	131403	
	Solomon Southwick	2910		
1824	De Witt Clinton	103452	190545	16359
	Samuel Young	87093		
1826	De Witt Clinton	99785	195820	3650
	William B. Rochester	96135		
1828	Martin Van Buren	136794	276583	
	Smith Thompson	106444		
	Solomon Southwick	33345		

* The votes of the counties of Otsego, Tioga and Clinton, were not canvassed.

From the organization of the State Government, in 1777 to 1789, George Clinton was elected Governor, without opposition. No record has been kept of the number of votes he received.

Remarks.—Mr. Southwick was the Anti-Masonic candidate. The Anti-Masonic party may be considered a new party, since there has been none of this name before in the state, or in the United States. The occasion which gave rise to this party, was the abduction of a man of the name of Morgan, who belonged to the ancient fraternity of the holy brotherhood. This man, Morgan, it is alleged by some of the brotherhood, disclosed the highly important secrets of masonry, which had always been concealed from the vulgar, and especially from the fair sex, whom, it is said, could never keep a secret, and noised them abroad. Now it so happened, that this highly important disclosure gave unspeakable displeasure to some of the weaker and more zealous members of the craft, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Morgan. These held sundry nocturnal meetings, where it seems to have been resolved upon, after divers lucubrations, to inflict exemplary punishment on the man Morgan. Disregarding, therefore, the laws of their country and the laws of God, they seized Morgan in a clandestine manner, and carried him forcibly from place to place, as far as Niagara, where, it is verily believed, they violated the sixth commandment, which saith, "*Thou shalt not kill.*"

The abduction of Morgan has occasioned, and very justly, great excitement among the people in the western parts of this state. Hitherto, (and nearly three years have elapsed since the abduction,) no intelligence has been obtained in relation to the fate of this unfortunate man; although the most unwearied researches have been made.

Such was the origin of the party called Anti-Masonic. And after all, nothing new was told. No new disclosures were made. The same secrets had been published on the other side of the great water, before Morgan was born; and had been read and read, not only on that side, but on this, till they had be-

come perfectly stale. Solomon says, "*There is nothing new under the sun.*" The abducers, however, were of a contrary opinion. They firmly believed, that what was now communicated, had never been communicated before. They must needs make way with both Morgan, and his book of disclosures, otherwise the whole fabric of masonry would be razed to the ground. This course was the best imaginable to give importance to things which were indifferent in themselves, and which would have been forgotten before now, had they been let alone.

ERRATA.

Page 12 of contents, line 7, read *posts* instead of ports:

—— 13 do. line 24 from the top, instead of *counties*, read countries.

—— 3, line 6 from the bottom, for *prosecution* read protection.

—— 141 line 8 from the top, for "*as the latter is of*," read "as the latter is to that of."

—— 258, line 13 from the top, for *Van Schenick*, read Van Schaick.

—— 420, lines 5 and 18, read Saughdaghquada, for *Saughdaghquadu.*

—— 435, line 18 from the top, read objects for *object*. This is the case with only a few sheets.

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